

THE DÉBATER:

NEW THEORY OF THE ART OF SPEAKING;

BEING A SERIES OF

COMPLETE DEBATES, OUTLINES OF DEBATES,
AND QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION;

WITH

REFERENCES TO THE BEST SOURCES OF INFORMATION ON
EACH PARTICULAR TOPIC.

BY

FREDERIC ROWTON,

AUTHOR OF "CAPITAL PUNISHMENT REVIEWED,"
ETC. ETC.

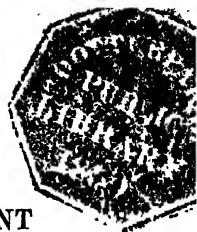
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TO

THE SECOND EDITION.

IN presenting a Second Edition of this work to the Public, the Author has merely to observe that he has carefully revised the original text, and has very considerably enlarged the list of questions for discussion.

F. R.

London, October, 1850.

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INTRODUCTION.



THIS volume is the result of a conviction in the mind of the Author, that a fundamental error prevails in the mode which is at present adopted to convey instruction in the Art of Speaking.

The true Art of Speech is the effective representation of our thoughts by language. To say what we mean, and to say that pleasingly and impressively, are the ends towards which all instruction in oratory should be directed.

Now what are the means at present employed by the Professors of the Art of Speech to accomplish these objects? *Simply the study and practice of recitation.* There is no communication of knowledge—no education of the mind in habits of thought and reflection—no formation of opinion, conviction, and belief: but the scholar merely learns and repeats certain hackneyed pieces of declamation, poetry, or dramatic composition; and when he can pronounce “Othello’s Apology,” “Rolla’s Address,” “Young Lochinvar,” and other similar time-worn extracts from our literature, to the sufficient admiration of his friends, he

is considered to be perfectly instructed in the Art of Speech!

But how great an error is there here! All that has so far been done is to have taught the student how to say his words, without giving him any words to say. He is a perfect reciter of other people's ideas and language, but cannot utter a thought of his own. In brief, he has been instructed simply in the mechanism of the art, and is left without materials to use, and without tools to handle.

If we seek for proof of this, we find it in our daily experience. Of the thousands who learn what is called "Elocution" in our schools, how rarely do we meet with even one who can express himself with tolerable clearness and propriety! The cause of this is plain: they have not been taught to think; and therefore, when thought is required from them, they have none to give. To teach a scholar elocution, without educating his oratorical faculties, is like erecting a pump without digging for the water. The machine is there, and it is capable of work; but it is of no service to you, for you can turn it to no practical account.

The Author ventures to think that a far better mode of instruction in the important study of which he treats, might be easily devised. He is

not vain enough to imagine that the present volume develops the best plan that could be conceived; but in the absence of a better, it may perhaps be found not altogether unworthy of consideration; at least, it may serve as a pioneer. The idea which this work seeks to realise is that the practice of *discussion* forms a much better exercise for the student, than the fatiguing *recitation* system which is now pursued. It teaches him at once Thought, Style, and Delivery:—thought, in the preparation which is requisite, even for the simplest debate;—style, through the necessity which the speaker finds of due order and arrangement in his ideas;—and delivery, in the utterance of his speech.

Elocution is doubtless an important *part* of the Art of Speech, but it is not the *whole* of it. The voice, the gesture, the manner, the action, and the expression are beyond question matters that demand great care and attention; but the education and training of the speaking powers are greater matters still.

Even, however, if Delivery *were* the whole Art of Speech, as the much misunderstood expression of Demosthenes is often made to imply—surely the utterance of his own sentiments must be a far better elocutionary lesson to the student, than the

recitation of words which (let him be as earnest as he may) can never truly represent his own ideas and thoughts. But Delivery is *not* the whole Art of Speech. A speaker must have a subject, and must know how to arrange his ideas upon it, before he can speak with effect; hence, the course of instruction is evidently,—first Knowledge, then Style, and lastly Delivery.

This argument is the basis of the plan which the Author has attempted to develop in his book. He has written, first, some *Complete* Debates. He could not expect that young minds would be immediately and intuitively ready to discuss, without instruction or model, the questions, however simple, which might be placed before them; hence he has composed complete speeches, which, without pretending to perfection in either thought or style, may still serve to awaken thought, to establish principle, and to convey general information. These debates are made to turn upon questions which involve at once practical, moral, and speculative truth, and are meant to tend at the same time to inquiry, and conviction. •

Next follow some *Outlines* of Debates, with ample references to the most accessible sources of information on each particular topic. The Author presumes that, after practising, for a time, the re-

citation of the complete discussions, the minds of the students will be in some measure prepared to supply information and thought, and will need to be exercised mainly in the arrangement of their ideas. He has therefore noted some of the chief arguments that may be used on either side, and has thus left the scholar to clothe the ideas in language, and to methodise the thoughts he has formed. The questions which these Outlines are intended to discuss, are of similar nature to the subjects of the complete debates, in order that the learner may not be led into altogether new and strange fields of study.

Lastly, the Author has annexed a mere list of Questions for Discussion, simply attaching to them such brief notes as they may require to explain their meaning, and such references as may lead the debater to the readiest sources of information on the subjects to which they pertain: In the first division of the book he presents Ideas, Arrangements, and Words; in the second he presents Ideas only; and in the third, he gives merely the Subject. The questions are such as will serve to test the progress of the student; for almost all the leading principles and ideas required for their discussion are evolved in the earlier portions of the Work: and the manner in which the scholar adopts

and uses them, will serve to show how far the prior exercises may have been of service and advantage to him.

It may perhaps be imagined that the subjects selected for debate are of too difficult a character for school-boys. In reply, it might suffice to say that whilst the Work is chiefly meant for school use, it is also intended for Debating Societies generally: it may be as well, however, to add that the majority of these questions *have been* discussed by school-boys under the Author's own observation; and that singular success and pleasure have attended the debates. Some years since, the Author introduced his plan into several first-rate educational establishments in Town, and it is the decided success of his experiment which alone has led him to publish this book.

One word as to the Book itself. — The Author has sought not merely to open inquiry, but to eluce results. He has endeavoured to take advantage of every possible opportunity for enforcing true and useful principles; and without aiming at the pedantic introduction of either metaphysics or philosophy, has humbly ventured to open many mines of thought both in mental and moral science.

RULES OF DEBATE.

At the first general meeting of members for the establishment of the class, the title of the society should be resolved upon, the laws of debate agreed to, and a secretary elected, whose duty it will be to keep minutes of the proceedings.

General meetings should be held half-yearly, to confirm, amend, or extend the laws, and to elect or re-elect the secretary.

At the ordinary meetings, after the election of the Chairman from amongst the members, the secretary should read the minutes of the previous meeting. When they have been confirmed, the Chairman should call upon the gentleman who has undertaken to open the debate, to address the meeting.

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It is then usual for the seconder to speak; and afterwards the other members, at their pleasure. When all who wish to speak have spoken, the

Chairman calls on the opener for his reply; after which the question is put from the chair, and decided by a show of hands. This done, the question to be discussed at the next meeting is proposed, seconded, and agreed upon. The class then adjourns.

No member is allowed to speak twice, except the opener in reply, or any one in explanation.

The opener has no right to introduce fresh arguments into his reply: he can only refer to what has gone before.

The Chairman cannot speak unless he quits the chair; nor can he vote unless the numbers be equal: in which case he gives the casting vote.

It will be found advisable to limit each speaker to a particular time, say ten minutes: the opener may be allowed fifteen minutes.

If all who wish to speak, cannot do so on one occasion, the debate may be adjourned until the next meeting; the mover of the adjournment, or the seconder, in the mover's absence, re-opening the discussion.

THE DEBATER.

PART I.

COMPLETE DEBATES.

QUESTION I.

*Which is of the greatest benefit to his country—
the Warrior, the Statesman, or the Poet?*

FIRST SPEAKER. — Sir, The question which I have undertaken to open, is, I think, one of considerable importance and interest. We are to be called upon to say — Which is of the greatest benefit to his country, the Warrior, the Statesman, or the Poet? The Warrior is the man who directs the *physical* strength of his nation: the man who fights its battles, repulses its invaders, holds discontent in check, and defends its rights at the hazard of his life: the Statesman is the man who governs the *mental* force of his nation; who by his keen intellect devises laws, avoids evils, secures social order, and controls the wild elements of popular feeling: and the Poet is

the man who guides the *moral* power of his nation: who teaches it truth, arouses it to goodness, and impresses it with beauty. Yes, it is important to judge between these three: to know which is the noblest kind of power; to discern the highest sort of greatness. For our conduct depends in no small measure upon our opinions, and according to the idea that we form of greatness, shall we alone endeavour to be great. Moreover, the question is a difficult one. Much thought is necessary to elucidate it, and much insight to determine it with truth. It is like judging between the different members of the body. For the Warrior is the arm, the Statesman the head, and the Poet the heart, of the community: and just as it is difficult to choose between the members of the body physical, so is it difficult to choose between the members of the body politic. I shall wait, Sir, to hear the sentiments of others before I decide, and for the present shall content myself with this simple introduction of the question, trusting that it will receive that full discussion which it merits.

SECOND SPEAKER. — Sir, I quite agree with the opener that he has presented us with a difficult subject for debate. And, I think, with all submission, that he has increased the difficulty by the selection of these particular characters.

For I cannot believe that they are the best representatives that he could have found, of the different kinds of force between which he calls on us to choose. Granting that the Soldier fairly represents the physical strength of his nation, might we not say with justice that the Philosopher is a completer type of its mind than the Statesman, and the Divine a fairer emblem of its moral power than the Poet? To make the question more debateable, however, without materially altering the opener's words, would it not be better to ask—Which is of the greatest benefit to his country, the Warrior, the wise Statesman, or the Christian Poet?

OPENER.—Sir, I have no objection at all to the question being understood as the last speaker wishes: though I think the distinction he has drawn is hardly necessary. In a certain sense the Statesman *is* the Philosopher, and the Poet *is* the Divine. The Statesman represents Philosophy, inasmuch as he sways by mental strength: and the Poet represents the Divine, inasmuch as he is an Apostle of Eternal Truth, and a preacher to the soul. I avoided the terms “Philosopher” and “Divine” in my question, because I know that the words are very often misused, and because I feared that instead of a calm and temperate debate, we should be led into a wide

field of disputed science and theological controversy. I think, Sir, that after this explanation the discussion may be safely allowed to flow in the channel which I originally opened for it.

SECOND SPEAKER (*in continuation*). — I am quite satisfied, Sir, with the remarks of my friend, and shall proceed to consider the question as he proposed it. We are to judge, then, between the Warrior, the Statesman, and the Poet: and the result of my brief reflections leads me to speak in favour of the first. I do not mean to deny the great value of the Statesman, nor do I forget the important mission of the Poet; but it certainly seems to me that the Warrior does more for his nation than either of the others. To him we owe the national safety, and that sense of security which develops all our best wisdom and energy. The fame of his valour, and the *prestige* that attaches to his name, preserve his country from attack; or if it is attacked, tend to secure for it victory and honour. By a beautiful arrangement of Providence, the Warrior is thus made the harbinger of peace. Of the supreme value of Peace, I need scarcely speak. Under its beneficent smile Commerce thrives, Science advances, the Arts flourish, Civilization spreads improvement, and social happiness is secured to man. The Warrior is a practical lesson of heroism, too,

to his nation. By fixing men's admiration on his courage, he leads them to imitate it. One hero makes many. There never was a dauntless Warrior yet who did not raise a dauntless army. And this dauntlessness is not the mere passionate excitement of a moment, but becomes a principle, influencing the whole conduct. It is not confined to the field of battle. It teaches a man to endure calamity, to despise slander, to resist oppression, and to defend insulted right. Sir, I honour the Hero-Warrior much. He seems to me not only a personification of bravery, but a creator of it; he plucks the sweet flower Peace from the sharp nettle War; and he is a constant incarnation of the great and useful truth that exertion overcomes difficulty, and courage ensures conquest. With these remarks I resume my seat.

THIRD SPEAKER. — Sir, the opener of this debate said with some aptness that the Warrior was the arm, the Statesman the head, and the Poet the heart, of the body politic. I like the simile, and adopt it. But does it not tend to fix our verdict absolutely on the Statesman? Is not *the head* the most important part of the living man? Compare it with the arm! The arm only acts; the head thinks. And is not thought (the originator) greater than action (the product)? The Thinker is always greater and nobler than the

Doer. The arm is dependant on the head; the head is not dependant on the arm. Take away the arm, the head may be sound and useful still: but take away the head, and of what good will the arm be then? In like manner you may remove the Warrior, and the state will flourish notwithstanding; whilst without the Statesman, it will sink into decay and ruin. The Statesman needs the Warrior but rarely; the Warrior always needs the Statesman. Give an army to a General, without instructions from the state, and unless that General be a Statesman too, he will embroil where he ought to pacify, punish where he ought to conciliate, and rouse revenge instead of producing submission. We have been told that a great Warrior is a perpetual type of heroism to his fellow-men: but let me put this question: Suppose that great Warrior should be (as great warriors have generally been) cruel, inhuman, bloodthirsty, and tyrannical, is he *then* a type fit to follow? Is *such* a man worthy of imitation — valuable in the state? Or is he not rather the most dangerous member of the community? a poison-seed cast into the ploughed heart of society, bearing evil fruit a thousand-fold? Compared with the Statesman and the Poet, the Warrior appears to me the least estimable of the three. I have now then only to decide between the other two. I own that I

incline towards the Statesman. I look upon the great Statesman of a nation as the head of its thought and philosophy, the guide of its energies, the centre and representative of its emotions, passions, and ambitions. I call to mind what our own great Statesmen have done for this country : how they have led it through perils of war and revolution that seemed overwhelming, and in defiance of all, have established its prosperity upon a rock : and, consequently, I feel that the man who can do this deserves the highest esteem that can be awarded to human exertion. For the Statesman, then, I vote.

FOURTH SPEAKER. — Sir, if the palm of merit is to be accorded to that one of the three men before us who accomplishes the greatest palpable and immediate good to the community of which he is a member, I should unhesitatingly place it on the brow of the Statesman. He is the pilot who, seeing clearly and estimating carefully the dangers that surround the vessel, steers it safely through them all : and if we can understand the value of such a helmsman in a ship at sea, we can readily conceive the important service that the pilot of the state performs for the community he guides. His value is felt and seen, too : the quiet, the contentment, the harmony, existing in the country are proofs of his ability and power,

which speak to all at once. and at once challenge admiration.

But I think we should not judge thus superficially. We must look deeper than this, if we would reach the truth. It is not the most evident merit that is always the worthiest. Quiet influences often do more than noisy ones. The deepest rivers always flow the most silently. And looking beneath the surface of the question now in hand, I seem to think that the Poet does more true and valuable service to the community than either the Soldier or the Statesman. I do not speak of the mere Rhymer, of course : I mean the real and great Poet, the earnest apostle of Truth and Beauty ; the man who, speaking to the divine part of humanity, lifts it above its mean and grovelling passions, and allies it to what is pure and noble. The Poet's office is one of the highest that I know. It is to purify the heart, to elevate the moral sense, to calm the perturbed spirit when agitated by its earthly trials, to refresh the tired soul with draughts from the spring of Eternal Beauty. The Poet is a voice ever speaking to our immortal part, ever telling us that earth is not our final home. Were there no such voice to speak to us, our souls would become stupefied and lost in the perplexing cares and sordid ambitions of the world : but as it is, the Poet continually reminds us of our great and lofty

destiny, and so leads us more nobly to fulfil it. We have a threefold life; a physical, a mental, and a moral life; of these the last only is immortal. The Warrior leads our physical part, the Statesman our mental part, and the Poet our immortal part. For this reason I hold that the Poet's is the highest mission of the three.

FIFTH SPEAKER.—Sir, With much that was admirable and eloquent in the speech of the gentleman who has just resumed his seat, I think there was also much that was visionary and unproved. The Poet *should* do all that our friend has described, but *does* he? I submit that this is yet unshown. Will the gentleman maintain that *all* great Poets have purified the world, elevated the moral sense, and kept chaste the human heart? Are there no licentious Poets? no sceptical Poets? no misanthropic Poets? What was Ovid? What was Shelley? What was Byron? Will our friend pretend to say that Ovid is an apostle of morality—that Shelley is a teacher of holiness—that Byron is a promulgator of philanthropy? Sir, if the Poet's office is to teach what these men teach, I must say that I do not believe it to be beneficial to mankind. It seems to me that at best the good which the Poet does is visionary. We do not *see*, we cannot *trace*, his influence; and how, then, can we say with certainty, that it is vast and

good? I think we act much more wisely in bestowing our esteem upon men whose work is perceptible, such as the Warrior and the Philosopher or Statesman. We see what the Soldier does, and what the Statesman does: between *them*, therefore, our judgment must lie. I give my vote, without hesitation, to the Warrior. He may not perhaps *mean* the most good, but he effects the most. He is the means of extending commerce and civilization, he is a hero, and the creator of heroes, he introduces order, discipline, and regularity into the state, he is the fearless protector of his country's rights, and the architect of its renown. History seems to say to us that a country always flourishes most under military rule. Rome proves this: so does Sparta: so does our own country. Rome was happiest when her legions were the most victorious; Greece was greatest when Miltiades and Leonidas led its arms to victory; and England was mightiest when Cromwell's strong arm ruled its destinies. The Statesman's office is a great one, doubtless; but the Warrior's seems to me even greater. I, for my part, would cheerfully give up our Chatham for our Nelsons. To the Warrior, then, I give my voice.

SIXTH SPEAKER. — Sir, I do not wonder that so many of our speakers have adopted the cause

of the Warrior, for there is something very attractive in the character. Nay, at the first sight there is something even beautiful in it: very beautiful. To direct a mass of men to the accomplishment of one settled purpose, to unite their various energies in a given direction, to fix one aim in a hundred thousand bosoms, to lead that mass on to battle, and to compass victory in defiance of difficulty, danger, and death, seems a great and noble achievement;—and in this simple aspect, so it is. The fame, too, the glory, the universal acclaim and distinction that await “the hero of a hundred fights;” the trappings, the banners, the excitement, the thrilling battle-music, the “pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war,” all these conspire to attract us towards the military character, and to invest it with a high degree of dignity and excellence.

But when I come to look through these vestments of the Warrior, and behold the man himself, to my sight there is not a more melancholy spectacle. I speak not now of the gallant soldier who fights to defend his home, his liberties, and his country,—no! honour be to *him* wherever he may be! I speak of the soldier by trade, the soldier of enterprise and conquest, the soldier who fights for hire or plunder. I called him a melancholy sight; and so indeed he is. For what is he? Let us be plain—a *murderer*: a wilful

and deliberate murderer; before whose cool atrocity the secret slaughter of the frenzied assassin rises into virtue. He goes into the field of battle: deliberately plans the destruction of the fellow-creatures opposed to him: brings the most powerful and terrible material agents of the earth to aid his horrid purpose; and is not satisfied till one or other, perhaps both, of the contending hosts are exterminated. I cannot conceive of murder more foul than this: and I appeal to all who hear me whether this is not the characteristic of the Warrior in general? Survey your list of heroes! Hannibal—Cæsar—William the Conqueror—Cromwell—Bonaparte: are not the very names synonymous with cruelty, rapine, and murder? Oh, Heaven forbid that after this we should ever look upon the Warrior as a benefactor to his nation! To me he seems its curse, its plague, its dishonour. I speak plainly, Sir, and emphatically, for I see that the brilliancy of the military character has misled many here, as it has misled millions in the world, and I wish, so far as my humble power will let me, to strip it of its false glitter, and expose it in its bare and ghastly deformity.

Between the Poet and the Statesman I can scarcely judge; and I shall wait before I decide. My feelings incline me towards the Poet, but I have not yet heard arguments sufficiently con-

vincing to sway me altogether in his favour. I rose chiefly to dispel, if possible, the false glory that attaches to the Warrior, and if I have in the least succeeded, I shall be perfectly content.

SEVENTH SPEAKER.—I think, Sir, that we owe much to the gentleman who has just sat down for the very proper light in which he has placed the character of one of the three individuals between whom we are to judge. We are now left to choose, I fancy, between only two. The choice seems to me to be tolerably easy. The Statesman certainly appears to deserve the higher honour. It has been well said that he sways the *mind* of his country. Besides this, he rules all the external circumstances connected with the condition of the people: he regulates their commerce, their manufactures, their physical and intellectual improvement. He rules by a noble style of Force, too—the force of intellect. By a stroke of the pen, he does more than the Warrior can do in fifty battles. His breath is stronger than the roar of cannon. We cannot see the Statesman to greater advantage than by comparing him with the Warrior. The Warrior leads *bodily* strength: actual, tangible force; the Statesman directs (by invisible power) the *minds* of men: leads their reason, holds the reins of their obedience, and represses discontent by the

simple force of written law. His parchment conquers more completely than the other's sword. His will binds faster than the other's chains. There is something almost sublime in a great Statesman. He has the keen clear eye to see a nation's wants, the wise judgment to devise the remedy, the strong bold hand to apply it. Firmness, vigilance, justice, moderation, mercy, dignity, these are the qualities of the Statesman, and they are, to say the least of them, noble and god-like, and deserving of our admiration. They have secured mine; and for the Statesman I shall vote.

EIGHTH SPEAKER.—Sir, A gentleman who spoke with particular boldness and confidence upon this very difficult subject, said, with an air of triumph which did not sit well upon him, for it was simply the triumph of thoughtlessness—not to say of folly:—this gentleman said that although the Poet *ought* to refine the heart, and purify the soul, of man, he mostly, or frequently, fails to do so, and therefore has but a visionary and unproved claim upon our esteem. Are there not, said our triumphant-thoughtless friend, are there not *licentious* poets, *sceptical* poets, *misanthropic* poets? Why, doubtless there are: and might I not ask in return, Are there no brutal Warriors? are there no stupid Statesmen? Sir,

this gentleman has taken false Poets as his sample of true ones, and so has fallen into deep error in his judgment. We are to decide, I apprehend, between the great Warrior, the wise Statesman, and the true Poet, not fix upon bad specimens of either.

Judging in this manner, Sir, I presume to add my feeble testimony to the superior service rendered to society by the Poet. as compared with the two other great men. He seems to me infinitely higher than they are. The soul is the domain he rules : and as high as the soul is above the body and the brain, so high is the Poet above the Warrior and the Statesman. The Warrior writes his law (of Force) in blood ; the Statesman pens *his* law on mouldering parchment ; the Poet traces *his* upon the universal heart of man : and while the heart of man exists, the Poet's laws can never die. For they are laws of beauty and of harmony. The law of the Warrior dies with him. Disperse the force he wields, he passes away and is forgotten. The law of the Statesman perishes with the parchment on which he writes it : laws are superseded by laws, as waves by waves. But the law of the Poet is imperishable : it is a law for all time, and will last till time shall be no longer. The works of Alexander are no more ; who can trace them ? The works of Solon are no more ; who acts upon

his laws? But Homer, like a writer of yesterday, stands fresh and young before us, and shall so remain, when the very names of Alexander and of Solon shall have faded from the memory of man.

NINTH SPEAKER.—I am grateful, Sir, to the last speaker for pointing out to us that we are to judge of the characters before us by their most perfect specimens; and this emboldens me to venture yet a word in favour of that character so much aspersed by some—the Warrior. The speakers who have so blackened the military character must surely have forgotten our Cœur de Lions, our Cromwells, our Blakes, our Nelsons, our Wellingtons! But even if they chose to forget history, was it so difficult to *imagine* a Soldier-Hero, that they could not even give us an *idea* of one? that they were obliged to give us *false* ideas of the character? “Murderers,” “Barbarians,” “Plunderers:” are Warriors always *this*? Have we heard of no virtuous, merciful, incorruptible heroes? Is Hannibal a reality, or a dream? Have any here read of Wallace, or is the name only a vision of my own? Are Cincinnatus, Leonidas, Washington, men who once lived on earth, or are they only

“—————false creations

Proceeding from my heart-oppressed brain?”

The soldier, Sir, has not been fairly dealt with. Let his detractors imagine an invader landing on our peaceful shores with chains and slavery in his million-hands: let them imagine the wild terror and mad fear that would arise in the hearts of our people: let them imagine our commerce stopped, our supplies cut off, our lives threatened: one universal throb of dread in all men's souls. Let them imagine at the darkest moment a hero rising from the mass: instilling courage into the heart, infusing patriotism into the spirit, exciting strength in the arms, of the people. Let them imagine him forming them into enthusiastic armies, imbuing them with stern and high resolve; leading them with dauntless courage into the field of battle, and directing their strength and valour against the enslaving Foe till he is overcome and forced to fly: and if, after imagining this, they do not think higher of the Soldier-Hero than they have done to-night, I will give up my defence of him.

TENTH SPEAKER. — Sir, The gentleman who has just addressed us has very eloquently described the value of the Hero, and the service he renders to his country: but he has not compared him with the other characters before us, and therefore has failed to lead us to a result on the matter. Now I have listened very attentively

to the speeches already made, and I must say that I feel irresistibly led towards the conclusion that our vote should be decidedly in favour of the Poet. For the Poet seems to me to be, in the best points of their character, at once the Statesman and the Warrior too. What constitutes a State? Not the bodies, not the minds, but the free *souls* of its citizens. To give laws to the soul is the Poet's mission, and nobly he performs his task. Where is the parchment that shows us such a law as Shakspeare gives us when he enjoins Mercy?—

“The quality of Mercy is not strained,
It droppeth like the gentle dew from Heaven,
Upon the place beneath;—it is twice bless'd,—
It blesseth him that gives, and him that takes;
'Tis mightiest in the mightiest: it becomes
The throned monarch better than his crown.”

Show me the parchment that contains a law like that, and I will almost fall down and worship the Statesman that devised it. Well does an eloquent writer* of the present day say,—

“Whence draws the State its inspiration draw
Of mercy? *'Tis the Poet frames the Law.*”

And well does another great writer† say, that
“Poets are the unacknowledged legislators of the world.”

And so the Poet is the Warrior too. What

* John Westland Marston.

† Shelley.

hero ever led his men to battle to such strains as those of Henry V. to his soldiers, from the pen of Poet Shakspeare: or as those of Bruce to his army, from the pen of Poet Burns? —

“ Scots, wha hae wi’ Wallace bled!
Scots, wham Bruce has aftimes led,
Welcome to your gory bed!
Or to glorious victory!

“ Now’s the day, and now’s the hour,
See the front of battle lour;
See approach proud Edward’s power—
Edward! chains and slavery!

“ Wha wad be a traitor knave?
Wha wad fill a coward’s grave?
Wha sae base as be a slave?
Traitor! coward! turn and flee!

“ Wha for Scotland’s king and law
Freedom’s sword will strongly draw,—
Freeman stand or freeman fa’,—
Caledonians! on wi’ me!”

“ By oppression’s woes and pains!
By our sons in servile chains!
We will drain our dearest veins,
But they shall — they shall — be free!

“ Lay the proud usurpers low,
Tyrants fall in every foe,
Liberty’s in every blow!
“ FORWARD! LET US DO OR DIE!”

Who does not feel that the heart which felt *that* was the true Warrior heart after all? Who does not feel, as the wild strain flashes through his soul, that *he* too could fight for liberty and right whilst a pulse of life remained in him?

In another point of view too—a far higher one—the Poet is the Warrior. He is for ever at war with the great foe of man, *Evil*. No matter in what shape the monster comes, Falsehood, Tyranny, Persecution, Superstition, Hypocrisy, Selfishness: he dauntlessly attacks it in all. His life is one battle against wrong. To bring about the reign of good on earth, is his unceasing effort; and with an ardour compared with which the enthusiasm of the soldier sinks into insignificance, he fights under his sacred banner, enduring sorrow and defying death. Yes! the Poet *is* the Warrior.

I wonder it has not occurred to any other speaker that the Warrior and the Statesman *themselves admit* the superiority of the Poet. Why does the Statesman toil? That the Poet may celebrate his deeds. Why does the Warrior fight? That the bard may sing his victories. Is not this an acknowledgment, plain and palpable, that the Warrior and the Statesman both consider the Poet superior to themselves? With this I shall conclude.

OPENER (*in reply*).—Sir, I have no hesitation

in saying that the very full and able debate to which we have listened, has tended to convince me beyond doubt that of the three characters whom I submitted to your judgment the Poet is by far the noblest, the highest, and the worthiest. He is above the Warrior, inasmuch as the immortal must always transcend the perishable; and he is above the Statesman, inasmuch as morality must ever be superior to intellectual wisdom. The good which the Warrior does, tends towards evil, and most generally produces evil; that which the Statesman does, is mutable and temporary; but that which the Poet does is everlasting. Love of glory animates the Warrior; so that his good deeds originate, at most, in selfishness. The Statesman follows virtue for expediency's sake, and this shows him to be selfish too. But the Poet worships truth for its own sake alone, and never till he abandons self can he be a Poet at all.

I fear, however, it may be thought that all this is speculative. Let us therefore for a moment view the question with the eye of fact. I will select from our history the greatest Warrior, the greatest Philosopher, and the greatest Poet that I find there. I will take CROMWELL as our Hero, BACON as our Statesman, and SHAKSPERE as our Poet. The same influences tended to produce all three, nearly the same time beheld

them, they are therefore fit objects to be mutually compared.

What then did Cromwell do for his country? Raised it doubtless to its highest pinnacle of political greatness: conquered its enemies, struck terror into the hearts of its malcontents, acquired for it the dominion of the seas, first, indeed, gave England that high supremacy in the world which from that time to this she has held.

But let us look a little further. What do we see *following* his despotic rule? That which always results from military despotism -- licentiousness, irreligion, moral slavery. Charles the Second would never have demoralised us, had not Cromwell first trodden us down. So it is always with the conqueror. I could show you, were it necessary, many parallel instances, some from our own records, some from those of France and other countries. Wherever the iron heel of the Warrior treads, there spring up foul and pestilential weeds which poison the whole atmosphere around, and flower into misery and crime. So much then for our Hero!

And now what of our Statesman? I grant that the clearest and most sagacious mind in all our annals is the mind of Bacon, and that his philosophy (rightly studied and understood) is of a high, pure, and useful character. But what has he done for us? To say nothing of the

miserable example he sets us by his own conduct, do we not find that the effect of his works has been to plunge Europe in scepticism, if not infidelity; in doubt, if not darkness? To it are clearly owing the disbelief of Hume, the atheistic philosophism of the last century, and the mean, ignoble, calculating utilitarianism of the present day. I do not impute this fault to Bacon, nor to his philosophy; I merely instance it to prove that all mere mental teaching is vain, useless, and injurious; that it fills the mind without touching the heart, and that it makes a man wise without leading him to be good.

But who can estimate the vast benefit that Shakspeare did and is doing to his country? Who can sufficiently point out the effect of his chivalrous patriotism, his pure benevolence, his high philosophy, his sound morality, his universal sympathies, his glorious aspirations to nobler and to better worlds than this? The Warrior, as we have seen, links man to man by the word of command, the word of authority. The Statesman, as we have seen, links man to man by the principle of mutual dependence and self-interest. But the Poet links man to man by the holy tie of sympathy and brotherhood; a tie which no authority, no force, can break. Place then these three men side by side—Cromwell, Bacon, Shakspeare; and let your choice point out to you the answer you

should give to the question now before us. You will not hesitate, for you cannot doubt. For whilst you will perceive that the Warrior and the Statesman are but the creatures of the day that produces them, and perish with that day; you will also find that the Poet engraves his glory so deeply on the world's affections, that till the heart of man perishes for ever in the grave of time, that glory shall be fresh and ineffaceable.

See Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH'S WORKS, vol. ii. pp. 320—327.; and vol. iii. pp. 200. 252.

LORD JEFFREY'S ESSAYS, vol. i. p. 231.; vol. ii. p. 259.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, vol. xlvii. pp. 184—196.; vol. xxvi. p. 458.

HEROES, HERO WORSHIP, AND THE HEROIC IN HISTORY. By Thomas Carlyle.

MAXIMS AND OPINIONS OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

JAMES'S FOREIGN STATESMEN.

QUESTION II.

Are the Mental Capacities of the Sexes equal?

OPENER. — Sir, In rising to open the question which has been put from the chair, I assure you that I feel the need of much indulgence. I expect no small amount of reproach and contumely for the part I mean to take in this debate, for I know the gallantry of many of my friends around me, and I fully make up my mind to smart under the weight of it. However, I prefer truth to reputation, and I do not mind a wound or two in a cause that I feel to be right. I will meet my fate boldly at all events; and I will at once declare that, so far as I have been enabled to judge, I have been led to believe that the mental capacities of the sexes are *not* equal; that the man's intellect is, on the average, superior to the woman's. I am quite ready to own that this rule will not hold universally. One cannot read the records of the world, or look round his own circle of acquaintance, without perceiving that some women are superior to some men. But I arrive at my present judgment, by observing that the best samples of the male sex are superior to the

best samples of the female sex ; and that the bulk of the male sex is superior to the bulk of the female sex.

We see this proved whichever way we turn. In history, which shines the brighter, the male sex, or the female? Look among Sovereigns. Where is the female Cæsar? the female Alfred? the female Alexander? Or take Legislators. What woman have we to compare with Solon or Lycurgus? Where are the female philosophers, moreover? Where is their Socrates, their Plato, their Newton? In literature, too ; are the great names those of the fairer, or of the sterner sex? Homer, Shakspeare, Milton, Byron, what lady-writers equal these?

I shall not enter into the philosophical part of the question at all. Facts are the strongest arguments, and these I have produced. Besides, I dare say that some of my supporters will choose that view of the matter ; and into their hands I am quite willing to resign it.

I feel that I should weaken my cause were I to say more. I therefore commit the question to the fair and full discussion of the meeting, quite convinced that a just conclusion will at length be arrived at.

SECOND SPEAKER. — Sir, My friend who has just resumed his seat has regarded this question

as it is answered by history. I will view it by the light of reason and philosophy.

I think then that women were *meant* to be inferior to men. The female of every kind of animal is weaker than the male, and why should a distinction be made with the human species?

The sphere which the female is called upon to fill is the domestic one. To rule and to command is the sphere of man. He is here to govern and to guide. Now the exercise of authority requires greater mental power than the duties of the other sex demand; and I think that man would not have been called upon to rule had not greater power been conferred upon him. What would follow if Woman were endowed with the sharpest intellect? Why that instead of tempering society with grace and softness, she would embitter it with the asperities of debate; that instead of being man's comforter and better angel, she would be his intellectual antagonist, ever at wordy war with him; that instead of refining the hearts of those who come within the reach of her gentle influence, she would continually spur, excite, and agitate their minds. Where would be man's refuge from the corroding cares of life and thought? Where would be his domestic comfort and happiness? Where would be the unutterable delight that now dwells in the magic word "HOME," if Woman were more intellectually subtle than she

is? All these true joys would be lost to us; and woman, instead of earning our gratitude and affection by creating them, would be studying metaphysics, diving into theology, or searching out new stars. It seems to me that the very happiness of the world depends upon the inequalities and differences existing in the minds of the sexes, and therefore I shall vote with my friend the opener.

THIRD SPEAKER.—Sir, I rise to defend the ladies. I admit the ability of my two friends who have preceded me, but I dispute their arguments, and I utterly deny their conclusions. I shall deal with the opener only, and leave the other gentleman to the tender mercies of succeeding speakers.

Our friend referred us to History: very unfortunately, I think. He spoke of Rulers. 'Where is the female Cæsar?' said he, and the female Alexander? I am proud to reply—Nowhere. No, Sir, the fair sex can claim no such murderers, no such usurpers, no such enemies of mankind. They cannot boast of having carried fire and sword amongst defenceless nations for the sake of conquest and plunder; of having trodden down, with remorseless heel, the sweet flowers of peace and domestic happiness; of having spread desolation and death wherever they have

gone. But perhaps it is as *Heroes* that our friend would have Cæsar and Alexander viewed! Well, then, the fair sex has its heroes too! Look among martyrs; you will find them there; among dauntless demanders of right; you will find them there; among patient endurers of calamity and sorrow; you will find them there! They have no Alexanders, they have no Cæsars; but they have the courage and the bravery of the best of them: and they have greater virtues besides, to which the others cannot lay the shadow of a claim.

FOURTH SPEAKER.—Without intending to pronounce an absolute opinion upon the question now under debate, I may perhaps be permitted to offer you a few observations.

I have generally noticed, Sir, that intellectual strength is a good deal modified by, and dependent upon, physical power. Physical power seems, indeed, absolutely necessary to the possessor of intellectual strength; otherwise his mental strength wears him out. Now, if woman has equal mental power, how is it that her frame is physically weaker? Either man has too much bodily power, or woman too little: a proposition which I imagine cannot be sustained.

Further, woman's brain is smaller than man's; and does not this of itself prove inferiority of

mental strength? Philosophers tell us that the size of the brain is always the criterion of intellectual power: if this be so, the matter is, I suppose, at once decided for us. I wait, however, to be convinced by the stronger side.

FIFTH SPEAKER. — Then, I, Sir, will try to convince my friend. I will try to convince him that he should adopt the cause of the ladies. The fair sex have not yet had justice done them. What is the argument employed to prove their inferiority? Simply this: that they are not such strong rulers, such learned lawgivers, or such great poets. But suppose I grant this; the sexes may be mentally equal, notwithstanding. For, if I can show that the female sex possess qualities which the male sex do not; qualities which, though widely different from those named, are quite as valuable to the world; I establish an argument in their favour quite as strong as that against them. And I *can* prove this. In affection, in constancy, in patience, in purity of sentiment, and in piety of life, they as far surpass man, as man surpasses them in mere bodily strength. And what qualities are superior to these? Is strength of intellect superior to strength of heart? Is the ability to make laws superior to the power that wins and keeps affection? Is a facility in making rhymes superior to

sisterly love and maternal solicitude? I think, Sir, that it is unwise and unfair to judge between the two. The spheres of the sexes are different, and require different powers; but though different in degree, they may be, and I believe they are, fully equal in amount.

SIXTH SPEAKER.—Sir, A gentleman who spoke a few moments since, asked us whether we were not bound to say that as woman's brain is smaller than man's, she is necessarily man's intellectual inferior. I see no such necessity. The dog's brain is smaller than the calf's; but the dog is, notwithstanding, much the more intelligent of the two. Mere size of brain proves nothing, for diseased brains are often the largest: our friend, therefore, need not fear to vote for the ladies upon this account.

The opener of the debate said rather plausibly, that as the male sex can boast a Shakspeare, a Milton, and a Byron, whilst the other sex cannot, *therefore* the male sex must be superior. It is but a poor argument, Sir, when plainly looked at. We should recollect that there is but one Shakspeare, but one Milton, but one Byron! Who can say that the female sex may not some day surpass these writers, famous though they be?

Another gentleman spoke of Philosophers. Let me remind *him* (for he seems to have forgotten, or

not to know) that the female sex can claim a De Staël, a Somerville, and a Mary Wolstoncroft.

Not that I would claim for the ladies, for one moment, any merit on this ground. I think that scientific and literary excellence is by no means a laurel worth their gathering. Learning—I mean scholastic learning—does not sit gracefully on the female mind: a blue-stocking is proverbially disagreeable. Woman's office is to teach the heart, not the mind; and when she strives for intellectual superiority, she quits a higher throne than ever she can win.

SEVENTH SPEAKER.—Sir, The gentleman who called this a question of *difference*, not of *amount*, of intellect, put the question, to my thinking, in its proper light. I quite agree with the opener of the debate, that in mere mental power, in mere clearness, force, and intensity of intellect, the male sex is unquestionably superior to the female. When we see the great names arrayed on the one hand, and the names, though great, yet mentally much smaller, on the other, we cannot, I think, have a doubt upon the matter. See, too, what man has *done*; I mean mechanically and palpably. He has discovered new shores, founded empires and dynasties, discerned and applied mechanical forces, conquered stupendous difficulties, accomplished great things wherever he has been. What

has woman done in comparison—I mean *visibly* done? I need not press the question, for the answer must be on all our lips—comparatively *nothing*! But at the same time, I can by no means admit that this proves woman to be inferior to the other sex. Much of what man has done results from his superior *physical* strength; and, moreover, if man has done great things visibly and mentally, woman has accomplished great things morally and silently. In every stage of society she has kept alive the conscience, refined the manners, and improved the taste; in barbarism and in civilization alike, she has gladdened the homes, and purified the hearts of those she has gathered round her.

Whilst, therefore, I admit, that in mental strength woman is not, and can never be, equal to the other sex, I maintain that her superior morality makes the balance at least even.

EIGHTH SPEAKER.—I am quite ready to concede, Sir, with the last speaker, that in the private and domestic virtues the female sex is superior to the male: but I cannot go so far with him as to say that man is morally woman's inferior. For which are the highest moral virtues? Courage, fortitude, endurance, perseverance; and these I think man possesses far more prominently than woman. Let the field of battle test his courage:

with what heroic boldness he faces certain death ! His fortitude again : what shocks he bears, what bereavements he patiently sustains ! Mark his endurance, too. Privation, hunger, cold, galling servitude, heavy labour, these he suffers oftentimes, without a murmur. See also how he perseveres ! He sets some plan before him. Days, months, years, find it still distant, still unwon : he continues his exertions, and at last he gains the prize. These, Sir, I contend are amongst the highest moral virtues, and I think I have shown that the male sex possesses them more abundantly than the other.

NINTH SPEAKER.—Sir, I quite agree with the gentleman who spoke last, that courage, endurance, and fortitude are amongst the highest moral virtues ; but I do *not* agree with him when he says that the female sex possesses them in an inferior degree to the male. True, man shows his courage in the battle-field. He faces death, and meets it unshrinkingly. But has not woman courage quite as great ? *She* fights battles—not a few : oftentimes with want, starvation, and ruin : and bravely indeed does she maintain her ground. Far more bravely than the man, in fact. The first shock overcomes *him* at once ; when attacked by distress he is in a moment laid prostrate. Then it is, Sir, that woman's moral

courage, endurance, and fortitude shine out the most. She sustains, she cheers, she encourages, she soothes the other: nerves him by her example, invigorates him by her tenderness, and directs him by gentle counsel and affectionate encouragement to put his shoulder to the wheel of his broken fortune, and restore himself to the position he has lost.

And how shall I speak sufficiently of the patience and endurance with which she will brave calamity, tend the couch of sickness, and soothe the bed of death? I know that not one of us can be a stranger to her inestimable value in seasons such as those just named; and therefore I make sure of general concurrence in my remarks. I think, Sir, it has been fully proved that woman is morally superior to man, and with this observation I shall conclude.

TENTH SPEAKER.—Mr. Chairman, I cannot help thinking that some of the last speakers have wandered a little from the true subject before us. The question was “Are *the mental* Capacities of the Sexes equal?” and the speakers are now hotly discussing whether the sexes are *morally* equal, with which point I submit we have nothing to do. To bring back the discussion therefore to its proper track, I beg to repeat that which has been yet unanswered, namely, That

as the male sex have produced the more remarkable evidences of mental power, the palm of mental superiority is evidently theirs. Much has been said during this debate, but no one has disproved this assertion or denied the deduction from it: till cause is shown therefore why the verdict should not be in favour of the male sex, I submit that we have the right to demand it.

ELEVENTH SPEAKER.—Sir, The last speaker has in a taunting manner challenged us to deny his assertion and to disprove his argument. I will do both; at least *attempt* to do so: and I trust I shall succeed in convincing my bold friend that he has not quite so good a cause as he thinks.

I will not admit that the female sex is outdone by the male. True, the one sex has produced a Shakspeare, a Milton, and a Byron; but the other has a Sappho, a Barbauld, and a Hemans. I will not however pursue the intellectual comparison, for it would be an endless and a useless one.

But suppose I were to grant what the last speaker claimed, namely, that the female sex *has* achieved less than the male, what then? I can show that woman's *education* has been neglected; that while the one sex has been taught all the learning, all the wisdom, that philosophy, history, and the fine arts can furnish, the other has been left to be instructed in merely the fripperies of

education; that while the one sex has been lauded to the skies, adulated, honoured, and flattered, the other has been neglected and discouraged and unnoticed. If, then, woman has not possessed the advantages conferred upon the other sex, how can you say that she is not naturally man's equal? Till this is answered, nothing has been proved.

TWELFTH SPEAKER.—Sir, I think that the answer may very easily be given. Great stress has been laid upon the fact that education has not been extended to woman, and therefore, it is said, she is not equal to man. The *fact* then of her inferiority is admitted; and now let us look at the excuse. I think it a very shallow one, Sir. Was Shakspeare educated? Was Burns educated? Was James Watt educated? No! They achieved their greatness *in spite* of the disadvantages of their position; and *this, Sir, genius will always do*. Nothing can keep it down; it is superior to all human obstacles, and *will* mount. It is for want of *genius*, therefore, not for want of *education*, that woman has remained behind in the mental race.

I was astonished to hear the gentleman say, that woman has met with discouragement when she has attempted to achieve excellence. Sir, such is not the case. Are not the efforts of our female writers always indulgently received?

Besides, the male sex has risen in spite of discouragement. Galileo was persecuted even to imprisonment and death, but he persevered in asserting his sublime discoveries. Milton wrote the grandest poem ever conceived, and his family received 5*l.* for it!!!—Otway, our greatest dramatist after Shakspeare, died literally from starvation!!! It must be evident, therefore, that neither want of encouragement, nor want of education can keep genius down, and as woman has not yet *shown* equality of mental power, I think we may justly conclude that she is not endowed with it.

THIRTEENTH SPEAKER.—Mr. Chairman, In spite of the learned and eloquent speeches of the ladies' champions, I am still inclined to vote with the opener. I think my conclusion rests on good authority. We find from Scripture history, that man was created first, and that woman was formed from a *part* of man—from what Dryden calls “the dross and refuse of a man”—from a rib, in fact. Now I would humbly submit that as man was first formed he was *intended* to be superior to woman; and that woman being made from a *part* of man only, cannot be looked upon as his equal. We find, too, in Scripture, that woman is continually told to obey man, and I contend that this would not be the case were she not inferior.

Besides, Sir, as it has been ably argued, her

duties *do not require* such great intellect as man's. Now nature never gives unnecessary strength; and as woman is not called upon to use great mental power, we may be sure she does not possess it.

FOURTEENTH SPEAKER.—Sir, It seems to me that the remarks of the last speaker may be easily shown to be most inconclusive and inconsistent. In the first place: he says, that as Adam was created before Eve, Adam was intended to be superior. I think, Sir, that this argument is singularly unhappy. Why we read that the birds, beasts, and fishes were created before Adam, and if my friend's logic were sound, Adam must be inferior to the said birds, beasts, and fishes in consequence; an argument, as I take it, not quite supported by fact. Sir, so far as we can judge, the most important creatures seem to have been formed last, and therefore Eve must, according to *that*, be not only not inferior, but superior to Adam.

Then as to the argument about the rib. I did not know before that a man's dross lay in his ribs: I believe it sometimes lies higher. And what was Adam formed out of? *The dust of the earth.* Now it seems to me that a living rib is a much more dignified thing to be made out of than the lifeless dust of the ground: and if so, my

friend's argument turns against himself rather than against the ladies.

I heard the gentleman say, too, and I confess I heard it with some impatience, that woman's sphere *does not require* so much intellect as man's. Whence he got such an argument I cannot imagine, and I think it by no means creditable either to his taste or to his discernment. Who has to rear the infant mind? to tend and instruct the growing child? to teach it truth, and goodness, and piety? Not impetuous, impatient man, but enduring, gentle, and considerate *woman*. What more important or more difficult task could mortal undertake? It requires the noblest intellect to teach a child, and that intellect being required in woman, I feel sure that she possesses it. Although, then, I own, that there are great and inborn differences between the intellectual capacities of the sexes, I cannot for an instant imagine that the one is, in the aggregate, at all inferior to the other.

FIFTEENTH SPEAKER. — Sir, I have reflected calmly and dispassionately upon the question before us, whilst I have been listening to the speeches made by my friends around me, and although I own that I was at first inclined to vote in the affirmative of this question, I am not ashamed to say that my views have undergone a material

alteration during the debate, and that I have now made up my mind to defend and vote for the ladies.

In the first place, Sir, I think we are necessarily unfair judges: we are interested in the verdict, and therefore ought not to sit upon the judgment-seat. It gratifies our pride to think that we are superior to the other sex; and reflection upon this point has convinced me, that upon the ground of good taste and modesty alone, we ought at once to give up the point, and admit woman's claims to be at least equal to our own.

Reason also moves me to adopt the same conclusion. I concede at once that there are great *differences* between the capacities of the sexes; but not greater than between various races of our own sex. The African savage is inferior to the European philosopher. Why? Because he has not been educated. So with woman. When you can show me that woman has received the same advantages as man, and has not then equalled him, why then I will vote against her; but *not till then*.

Besides,—the differences, though innate, are not differences of *amount*, but of *detail*. A man who has a five-shilling piece, and a man who has ten sixpences, are equally rich: just in the same manner woman may be as intellectually great as man, only possessing her mental wealth in differ-

ent coin from his. He has one set of qualities ; she has another. He has judgment, she has tact. He has boldness, she has prudence. He has courage, she has caution. He has reason, she has hope ! Add up the two sides, and though the figures are different, the amount will be the same.

It has been said that as woman is commanded in Scripture to obey, she must necessarily be inferior. This by no means follows. There must be a head : they cannot both rule : though equal, therefore, *one must* submit. The philosophers and statesmen of this country obey the sovereign who is placed over them ; but that does not prove them to be inferior to that sovereign in intellect. This argument has in fact nothing to do with the matter.

In conclusion, I would say, that as the Creator formed woman to be a help *meet* for man, I cannot believe that she was made inferior. She was given to him as a companion and a friend, not as a slave and servant, and I think that we are displaying great arrogance and presumption, as well as a contemptuous depreciation of our Great Creator's best gifts, if we declare and decide that she who adorns and beautifies and delights our existence, is inferior to ourselves in that intelligence which became a part of man's soul when God breathed into him the breath of life.

OPENER (*in reply*).—Mr. Chairman, You have called on me to reply. Now I beg at once and frankly to say, that I, like the last speaker, have undergone conviction during this debate, and that I mean to vote *against* the proposition which a short time ago I recommended.

I was misled by *appearances*. I looked into history; but I did not examine it correctly. I looked at the surface only. I saw great deeds, and I saw that *men* had performed them; but I did not estimate what had been done silently. I forgot to ask myself how much of the good these men wrought was owing to the wisdom and goodness taught to them in their infancy by their mothers. So with philosophy, so with science. The glitter caught me, and I fear I lost the substance.

I am not sorry, however, that I introduced the question. It has changed those who were wrong, it has confirmed those who were right, and it has caused all to think. Let me hope that all who spoke on my side of the question are, like their leader, converted; and let me in conclusion say, that I trust we shall take to our hearts the truth we adopt; and whilst we vote here, that the mental capacity of the female sex is fully equal to our own, show by our conduct towards that sex, that we feel their high value and

dignity, and treat them in every respect as our full equals and as our best friends;

See Lord JEFFREY's ESSAYS, vol. iii. p. 380, et seq.

MADAME DE STAEL'S WORKS, generally.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, vol. xv. p. 299, &c.

SYDNEY SMITH'S WORKS, vol. i. p. 200, &c.

WOMAN'S MISSION. By Mrs. Ellis.

THE FEMALE POETS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

By Frederic Rowton.

WOMAN IN HER SOCIAL AND DOMESTIC CHARACTER. By Mrs. John Sandford.

QUESTION III.

Is Capital Punishment justifiable?—

OPENER.—Mr. Chairman, I rise to submit to the discussion of this meeting the following important question: “Is Capital Punishment justifiable?” I feel that I have undertaken a very difficult task; but urged by a strong, indeed overpowering, sense of duty, I am determined not to flinch from my work, but to perform it to the very best of my ability.

I entertain a deep and solemn conviction, Sir, that the punishment of death is, under any circumstances, a foul and frightful crime. I wish, however, to be distinctly understood to admit that it was not always so. That it was at one period of man’s history commanded and approved by the Most High, I at once concede. But the proposition I wish to maintain to-night is—That the practice is *now* no longer justifiable in any supposable case.

In the first place, Capital Punishment is condemned by *policy*. It is an undeniable fact - a fact so well known as to call for no proof from

me—that crime decreases just as this punishment is more and more discontinued. Forgery, sheepstealing, coining, burglary, and other offences lately punishable with death, have, since the repeal of the capital penalty, most strikingly diminished. Even murder is found to decrease just in proportion as executions become rarer. Not in our country alone, but throughout all Europe, this fact holds good, and it cannot fail to tell us, in unmistakeable language, that the point where punishment has become an incitement rather than a restraint has at length been reached, and that the principle and application of Punishment must consequently now be altered.

I may perhaps be asked to explain this metaphysically: to show *why* punishment now incites rather than prevents? Sir, this is by no means my duty, and I shall not attempt it: the fact proves my position: and on that I shall rely. Suffice it to say, that the Punishment of Death is found to be impolitic, inasmuch as it increases the crimes which it seeks to repress.

Secondly, the infliction of death is inconsistent with our advanced state of *morality*. It was a just and a fit punishment when men were all barbarians; because then it appealed to their strongest sense, the sense of physical pain: but now, when mental pain (and especially the pain

of conscience) is a terror to men beyond the fear of physical suffering, the infliction is signally and necessarily unfit. It is now seen by the wise among men, that all crimes partake more or less of the nature of insanity; great crimes more especially: and consequently it is felt to be unjust to kill a man for a deed which could only have been conceived and executed under frenzy or infatuation. If a further proof were needed of the immorality of Capital Punishments, I would point to the aversion that is growing day by day in the public mind against their infliction. Societies are formed, and more are daily forming, for the express purpose of endeavouring to abolish the gallows; and this would not be, were it not felt to be morally abominable.

Lastly, it is repugnant to our *religion*. We live under the mild and merciful dispensation of the Gospel; the law of death is repealed, and the law of life is substituted in its place. We are told to revenge not ourselves, but to leave vengeance to God. We are bidden to be kind and merciful to one another, even to the worst offenders. By the Gospel we are taught above all things the surpassing value of the human soul: and this should lead us, of itself, to forbear from inflicting a punishment which sends the soul to a tribunal from which there is no appeal.

I feel, Sir, that I cannot now urge these points

at greater length: but as they will doubtless be amplified by many who are much better qualified to enlarge upon them, I am glad here to resign the subject.

SECOND SPEAKER. -- Sir, I lose no time in seeking to address you, for I think the subject of debate a vitally important one.

I am strongly of opinion that there is a spirit of false humanity abroad in the present day, which is calculated to do, and indeed is doing, a vast amount of harm. I do not conceal from you, Sir, my especial belief that the cry for the abolition of Capital Punishments proceeds from a mawkish sentimentality, a spurious mercy, and a most unwise philanthropy. Whence all this sympathy, this morbid pity, this loud-tongued pleading for the blood-dyed murderer, but from these impure sources? I am astonished, Sir, that men can be found to defend the horrid crime of murder, and to demand that it should escape its righteous punishment!

As to policy: there is too much talk about policy in the present day! Let men do what is right, and leave policy to take care of itself. It is easy enough to say murders decrease just as Capital Punishment is discontinued, but why may I not say that this decrease in crime is owing to the spread of education, the vigilance of our police,

and the increasing justice of our laws? I think, Sir, that death for murder is right, and therefore *must be politic*.

But our friend says that it is *not* right; that it is unjust and immoral. Is life for life not just? Why, what can be juster? He who *does* injury ought to *suffer* injury. Will any one be bold enough to tell me that if a near and dear relation of mine were to be barbarously murdered in cold blood, it would not be just and proper for me to desire and demand the life of the murderer? What is there that is immoral in that? It seems to me much more immoral to forgive crime, than to punish it: for crime is not to be endured on any terms.

I was astonished beyond measure, Sir, when I heard the opener say, moreover, that Capital Punishment is forbidden by our religion. Why, have we not in the first book of the Bible this clear command — “*Whoso sheddeth man's blood by man shall his blood be shed?*” What can be plainer than that? Besides this, have we not the laws which the Almighty expressly gave to the children of Israel, enjoining *in all cases* death for murder? Surely now that the gentleman finds not only by Divine Command, but by Divine Practice (for the Almighty was the head of the Jewish community), that Capital Punishment is enjoined, he

will not repeat his inconsiderate assertion that the gallows is repugnant to our religion.

Not having had much time for preparation, Sir, I am unable at present to say more; but I trust that the few remarks I have offered will have tended (even though but slightly) to shake the foolish sentimentality which has given rise to this debate, and to give us plain sense and common justice instead.

THIRD SPEAKER.--Sir, If I wanted a proof that the penalty of death is a punishment essentially inconsiderate, barbarous and revengeful, I should find it in the speech of the gentleman who has just preceded me. A more crude, thoughtless, *ad captandam* address I never heard in my life. It began with abuse and ended with self-laudation: whilst you can scarcely require to be told that it contained not even the shadow of a sound argument.

What the speaker said about false pity and spurious philanthropy we can afford to despise. When a man begins to call his opponent bad names, we may be sure that he finds he has the worst of the argument. Our friend's loss of temper, therefore, only proves the badness of his cause.

From abuse the gentleman descended to misrepresentation. He told us that the opponents of

Capital Punishments desire to defend the crime of murder, and to protect the criminal from punishment. Now, once for all, Sir, let us firmly deny and repudiate such folly. We admit to the full that murder is a foul and awful crime; and we by no means desire to screen the offender, either in the sight of God or man. We only desire that the punishment shall be a certain instead of an uncertain one; rational instead of barbarous; and that it shall be such as will restrain, not promote, the crime. Away, then, for ever, with this thoughtless charge of false philanthropy!

I reiterate the assertion of the opener, that the punishment of death is impudic. Experience proves this, as we have seen; and reason proves it too. Consider for a moment the *aim* of Capital Punishment inflicted for murder. It is intended by the legislator to prove and preach to the people that life is sacred, and that murder is wrong: in other words, *life is taken to teach that life should not be taken*. Can anything be more absurd? The *act* is directly opposed to the *aim*. Can anything be more calculated to increase crime instead of repressing it? Killing is justified instead of being condemned; and the man who is unaccustomed to the casuistry by which bad laws are easily defended, will be disposed to justify a similar deed, committed under provocation, by himself. And the practice not only misleads,

but brutalizes, the minds of a people. They are rendered familiar with death, and are therefore made all the more capable of inflicting it. A man who witnesses an execution is depraved from that moment: and many an individual dates the commencement of his sinful career from the moment when he saw the sanctity of life invaded by what is called, or rather mis-called, public justice.

Reason, then, as well as fact, must lead us to see that Capital Inflictions are impolitic. Experience proves it; for the crime increases as the inflictions abound: and Reason proves it; for the slightest thought will lead us to see that killing justified in public, will naturally lead to killing justified in private.* Sir, I will not trespass on you longer.

FOURTH SPEAKER. — Sir, I object to Capital Punishment because I cannot see that the ruler has any right to inflict it. The sole duty of the civil governor is to protect men's lives and possessions by the means which society delegates to him. Now he can have no right over life, because no such right can be delivered to him. Man in his natural state has no right either over his own life, or over the lives of others: the right to kill, consequently, cannot belong to the ruler by delegation. The right of *self-defence* may perhaps be

pleaded: but a moment's reflection will serve to show that it cannot hold. Killing in self-defence can only be justified by the fact that life is absolutely in danger unless it be resorted to; and therefore unless it can be shown that the existence of the state is positively threatened by the preservation of the murderer, his destruction is not to be justified.

Nor can the ruler have a *moral* right to inflict death as a punishment. The issues of absolute justice are nowhere committed to him: and if they were, he could not properly dispense them. To judge morally, is to judge of motive: and man (whether ruler or individual) has neither the power nor the authority to do this.

Nor can the ruler have a *religious* right to condemn his fellow man to death; for religion (as it has been shown) opposes the practice: both in spirit and in letter.

On the bare question of right, then, I object, Sir, to the punishment of Death: and this seems to me a sufficient answer to the question before us.

FIFTH SPEAKER.—Sir, The question of the ruler's abstract right to inflict the punishment of death is one which it is very difficult to discuss. I must own that in spite of the last speaker's observations, I am inclined to think that the ruler

has such a right. Politically speaking, this right seems to me to depend entirely upon expediency. If the well-being of the state is promoted by the sacrifice of its worst members, then I am of opinion that the ruler has a perfect right to resort to it. Whether Capital Punishment *does*, however, promote the well-being of the state, is a question into which I shall not enter: I wish to keep to the mere matter of right.

I am quite willing to admit that I cannot accord to the ruler any *moral* right to destroy his fellow-beings. We cannot judge morally: and the absence of power seems to me to prove, beyond question, the absence of right. Besides, as there is no doubt that the Great Judge of all the earth will unfailingly recompense every man according to his deeds, there can be no pretence that the administration of moral justice is, or needs to be, committed into the feeble hands of man.

That the ruler possesses, however, a *religious* right to use the sword of justice, I must say I believe. This clear command—"Whoso sheddeth man's blood by man shall his blood be shed," still remains un repealed; and in my opinion is absolutely binding. It is quite true that the spirit (and perhaps the letter) of the New Testament is in some measure opposed to this command, but I cannot help thinking that a clear and thoughtful mind might reconcile them.

I am by no means bigoted, Sir, in favour of the punishment of death; and I willingly concede that my moral feelings are much shocked by the practice; but until the arguments I have put forward are disproved, I must reluctantly remain amongst its advocates.

SIXTH SPEAKER.—Sir, The very temperate and gentlemanly tone of the address to which we have just listened, leads me to hope that there is still a chance of a fair and calm debate upon this interesting topic.

I think it must be quite clear that the evil effects of Capital Punishment quite destroy any political right of the ruler to inflict it. “The objects of punishment seem by common consent to have been resolved into three, the reformation of the offender, remuneration to the injured, and the prevention of future crime: and all these objects are frustrated by the penalty of death. It, of course, prevents the reformation of the offender, for it cuts him off from all chance of it. It fails in remunerating the wronged, for it cannot bring back the dead. And as to preventing crime, it is notorious that at every execution crime is perpetrated and planned under the very gallows.”

The political right then, is dispelled, the moral right is given up, and now there only remains the religious right.

The religious right of the ruler to kill the murderer rests, seemingly, upon the passage in Genesis—"Whoso sheddeth man's blood by man shall his blood be shed." But who can prove that this is a *command* at all? I think it simply a prediction to the effect that whosoever liveth a life of violence shall be repaid in the same coin:—a simple denunciation of *God's* vengeance against men of blood and crime. The passage, be it remembered, is not an *imperative* command; it is simply expressed in the future tense, and is no more a delegation of divine authority than the similar passage—"Whoso taketh the sword shall perish by the sword." It should be noticed too, that if the passage be any authority at all, it denounces death for manslaughter as well as for murder. "*Whoso sheddeth*"—are the words: there is no distinction of motive: homicide of every sort is equally punishable with death. This conclusion will not, I suppose, be maintained by any one; and therefore I submit that it cannot hold at all: the more especially as it is opposed, and indeed altogether condemned, by the Gospel.

If I should have failed, Sir, in estimating any part of the ruler's right to kill, I dare say I shall soon be informed of it.

SEVENTH SPEAKER.—When the last speaker told us, Sir, that the extract from Genesis simply means that *God's* vengeance shall be awarded to

the murderer, he surely forgot that the passage distinctly says—“*by man*” shall the murderer’s blood be shed. On these two words of course the whole weight of the passage depends: and they are to me quite conclusive upon the matter.

It has been said, more than once or twice in this debate, that the New Testament is opposed to this command: I am of quite a different opinion. The New Testament appears to confirm, rather than to supersede, the divine authority of the civil ruler. “Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man.” “The powers that be are ordained of God.” “Honour the king.” “Respect them that are set over you.” “Resist not the power:”—do not these passages clearly show us that the ruler is the Almighty’s vicegerent? This granted, let us take this other passage—“The ruler beareth not the sword in vain.” Now, I think that this clearly affirms the ruler’s right and commission to destroy the wicked. Scripture emblems are all significant: and the “sword” doubtless means the “power to kill.” Here then we clearly see that the ruler is constituted Heaven’s representative, and that when, as such, he uses the sword to smite the wicked, he does so by divine authority, and is consequently blameless, and indeed praiseworthy.

EIGHTH SPEAKER.—I am not yet quite satisfied, Sir, of the correctness of the assertion made

by one of the speakers that the practice of Capital Punishment must tend to increase the crime it seeks to prevent. It requires a shrewder logic than I have yet listened to, to convince me that the public infliction of punishment must increase rather than repress iniquity. Why does a father correct his child? To make it an example to the rest. The infliction of chastisement operates upon the fears of the others, and so naturally restrains them from the commission of crime. And as it is with children, so it is with men. The fear of punishment must evidently tend to keep us from falling into sin. And in spite of what has been said, I firmly believe that the fear of the gallows *does* restrain many men from murder. It may be a frightful spectacle, perhaps even a depraving one (as far as the mere spectators are concerned), but the moral finds its way into the hearts of millions through the land; and although from the nature of things we cannot *see* the restraint in operation, we have every fair reason to conclude that it exists and acts.

Into the theological and moral parts of the question, I shall not seek to enter; I think that common sense is the fittest judge of the matter, and the abstrusities of religion and justice have, I confess, no charms for me.

NINTH SPEAKER. — Although, Sir, “the ab-

strutis of religion and justice" may "have no charms" for the gentleman to whom we have just been privileged to listen, there are men, I fancy, who will not be quite so ready to fling religion and morality to the winds. To shrink from testing the question by theological and moral considerations, betrays the consciousness of weakness: and goes far to prove that Capital Punishment can *not* be justified.

But the question shall not be so shirked. The supporters of the pain of death may, if they please, dismiss from their minds the sentiments of religion and morality; but we, its opponents, will not. Confident that by these tests the punishment is expressly condemned, I again reiterate the assertion that killing for murder is not justified either by morality or religion.

Upon moral grounds I believe no one will now defend it: but the religious reason is not yet given up. I think, however, I can now demonstrate that it must, for the future, be entirely renounced. A gentleman who recently addressed us said that the whole weight of the passage from Genesis rests upon the words "*by man* shall the murderer's blood be shed:" I quite agree with this gentleman. These two words certainly *do* seem to imply a sort of divine authority for man to kill the manslayer. But what will the gentleman say, and what will his supporters say, when

I assure them that the words "by man" are not in the original at all? The words are simply, "*Whoso sheddeth man's blood his blood shall be shed:*" there is no delegation of authority to man whatever. It is quite true that Cranmer, Coverdale, and the Bishops who produced our present version of the Bible, interpolate the words "by man;" but the Septuagint, the Vulgate, and the versions of Scio, Ostervald, and Wycliffe, reject them altogether.

I am not Hebraist enough to refer you to the original, but I am sufficiently well-informed upon the matter to assure you that the exact translation of the original passage is this, — "*Whoso sheddeth man's blood that is in him, his blood shall be shed.*"

Here, then, falls to the ground for ever the imposing edifice which has been built upon -- a mis-translation! The passage confers no right: it speaks not of the agency of man at all, and therefore goes for nothing in the argument.

An intelligent gentleman who addressed us some few minutes since, expressed his belief that the supposed command just quoted, and the apparently opposing passages in the New Testament, might possibly be reconcileable. I think the gentleman will now see that they are reconciled. Without any command in the Old Testament, and with a decided repugnance in the New Testament,

to shed human blood (even the blood of criminals) it will now not be difficult to see that the opener was right when he said that Capital Punishment is opposed to our religion.

TENTH SPEAKER.—Though a good deal shaken in my original conviction that the punishment of death for murder is defensible, I must confess that I am not altogether satisfied with the arguments to which I have listened on the other side.

Granting that the last speaker is right in his new translation of the passage from Genesis, how will he or others get over the fact that capital inflictions were expressly instituted and commanded by the Most High when he gave laws to the children of Israel? I suppose it will not be pretended that all this is mistranslated too; Capital Punishment was most evidently one at time approved by the Almighty; and if so, how can we say that it is wrong in principle now? I certainly should like this point settled.

Again, I feel still of opinion that life for life and blood for blood is sound and true justice: and that the man who takes the life of another deserves to forfeit his own. I admit that man is not altogether competent to judge of moral guilt; but in so glaring a crime as murder, he surely can make no mistake in inflicting punishment.

ELEVENTH SPEAKER.—In reply to the assertion of the last speaker that we surely cannot make mistakes in punishing the crime of murder, it might be sufficient to point out that errors *have been* made, —and not a few. Not only have men punished manslaughter as murder, and murder as manslaughter, but they have actually killed men as murderers who have been subsequently found to be entirely innocent of the crime for which they suffered!

But although the mere statement of this fact sufficiently rebuts the assertion referred to, the gentleman perhaps wishes to know *how* mistakes in judgment can be made. I will tell him. It is chiefly because we have not the faculty to distinguish between good and evil motives, and are thus led to mistake deeds of dreadful consequence for deeds of dreadful crime. For Heaven's sake, Sir, let us not think ourselves good moral judges when we have made such awful mistakes as to burn some men for their religious belief, and to crown others with laurel for slaying thousands in a field of battle! We cannot see motives in any case, and therefore we cannot properly condemn and punish them in the murderer.

But “life for life, blood for blood,” is the argument by which Old-Bailey-strangulation is justified. He who *does* injury ought to *suffer* injury, it is said. A nice morality to be sure;

the simple but disgraceful morality of revenge and retaliation : the very system which the Holy Gospel came to overthrow. I called the principle disgraceful, Sir : the expression is a strong one : but I will not withdraw it. On the contrary I reiterate it. It *is* disgraceful. It shows a barbarous and unchristianised heart ; and I cannot help saying that I think the harbourers of it were meant for the wild and savage state of the world, and have unluckily been born too late.

The last speaker evidently ought to have existed in the Mosaic era : for he lives in its principles. " Why," says he, " if Capital Punishment was a good law for the Jews, is it not a good law for us ? " Why simply, Sir, because we are *not* Jews. I, for my part, am not inclined to live by the light of three thousand years ago. Men were barbarians when the law of death was enjoined : and for them, doubtless, the law was the best that could have been framed ; but we have now grown into a different state ; and the best proof that the law is no longer fit for us is, that it fails to restrain us. Moreover the law was abolished by Christ.

Death as a penalty for murder *must* fail. Let me show you why. The crime is committed either by impulse or by calculation. If by impulse, then the mind that conceived it is beyond

the reach of moral restraint altogether: if by calculation, then the criminal finds the chances of escape stronger than the dread of discovery and punishment, and so despises the threat.

TWELFTH SPEAKER.—Sir, I am opposed to Capital Punishment because I think that it defeats its professed object by its extreme severity. Prosecutors dislike to come forward, witnesses to testify, juries to convict, and judges to sentence, when the life of a man is at stake: and this tends to make the punishment uncertain in its operation, and to lead the calculating offender to despise it. Say what we will about life for life, there is unquestionably great horror in the public mind at this law of blood: and even when guilt is most clear, there is always, when the penalty is death, a strong effort made to screen and save the malefactor. Now this is caused solely by the frightful nature of the punishment. Were the sentence transportation, imprisonment, or any other secondary punishment, there would be no interference; on the contrary, the law would be allowed and assisted to take its course: but as it is, it is thwarted by every body! The result must be clear; we are led to oppose and hate the law, and to pity, instead of detest, the criminal. Thus a martyrology of the gallows is formed, and

a morbid sympathy is raised and disseminated on behalf of the malefactor.

The supposed restraint of the gallows is a vision, a chimera. A gentleman said (and I could not help smiling at his extreme simplicity) that in the very nature of things we could not see the restraint in operation—although he, for his part, believed in it! But *why* cannot we see this restraint at work? I will tell you. *Because it does not exist.* Who ever saw, or heard, or read of a man who had been restrained from committing murder by the dread of the gallows? Who ever felt or feared the restraint himself? In the very nature of things it is impossible. For when once the idea of murder has been conceived and determined upon, all restraint is alike forgotten or despised.

Speak as we may, men do not and will not fear death. Lord Bacon truly says, “There is no passion so weak but it mates and masters this fear.” Even the drunkard despises it; and if he—the most imbecile of God’s creatures—can do so, how much more capable of doing so, is the fierce, bold, determined man of crime, who crowns his career with murder? The expectation of death is too tremendous a thing to realise: and hope, even under the worst circumstances, is so strong within us, that it deludes us, and persuades us

even at the last moment, that we shall not surely die.

I think then it must now be clear that Capital Punishment, so far from so operating upon our fears as to restrain us from crime, incites from its very nature, numerous hopes of escape; which aided by the calculations of reason, and the delusion which our fears excite, conspire to render its infliction utterly inefficient for the sole end of punishment, which is to present to all a stronger motive for abstaining from crime, than the ordinary motives for committing it.

THIRTEENTH SPEAKER. -- Sir, Although this discussion has referred to the chief points connected with this interesting subject, there are yet a few considerations remaining which have not been quite cleared up.

In the first place, it is quite plain that when the Almighty gave his laws to the Jews, capital punishment for murder was strictly enjoined: and I have as yet heard no arguments to show that if the principle was right then, it is wrong now.

Again: it is expressly asserted in Scripture that the ruler is the vicergerent of the Almighty: and if this be so, it will follow that when the ruler inflicts death as a punishment, he does it as God's representative, and is therefore blameless.

Further: we are told to submit to the ruler, to

resist not the power, and so forth: now, does not this clearly show that we are wrong in questioning the authority of the civil governor, and guilty of contempt towards the "powers ordained" of God, when we seek to deprive them of the sword which He has committed into their hands?

It has been said that murderers ought not to be punished with death, because insanity must have prompted them when they committed their crimes; but this insanity has not been proved. How are we to know that they were insane? It appears to me, Sir, that unless it can be most undeniably shown that a murderer is out of his mind when he kills his victim, he ought to suffer for the deed.

Once more: it appears from the statement of one of the speakers, that some of the Bible translators write "*by man* shall the murderer's blood be shed," whilst some do not. But why are we to take the version which has *not* the words, and reject that which *has*? We may as well take the one as the other. Authorities it seems disagree, and there must consequently be two sides to the question.

Lastly: if you abolish death as a punishment, what will you give us instead? I can see no punishment so fit or so good. Will you *transport* your murderers? That will deprive society of the example offered by their fate. Will you sentence them to *solitary imprisonment*? This would

be more barbarous than death, by far. What, then, will you give us in place of a punishment which is at once striking and exemplary; and which, moreover, by giving the condemned criminal an interval between the sentence and its execution, provides him with leisure for repentance in the sight of God?

Until all these various objections are satisfied, Sir, I am persuaded that a great majority of mankind will remain of opinion that, however benevolent the abolition of the gallows may seem, it is a truer benevolence that demands its retention.

OPENER (*in reply*). — Sir, I rise to offer a few words in reply.

It seems to be tacitly admitted by all, that the gallows can only be defended whilst it is found to be expedient. As to whether it is expedient or not, there seems still to be a question.

Now no one, Sir, has attempted to controvert my assertion, that executions increase crime. I do not wonder at this, for the fact (explain it as we may) is not to be denied. Experience, then, at all events, is with us.

And reason, Sir, is with us, too. The punishment of death *must* fail to restrain, because it is not till all moral restraint has become too feeble to bind, that the crime is determined on.

It has been shown, moreover, that we have *no right* to kill. From self-defence we get no right, because we can defend ourselves without inflicting death: by delegation we get no right, for there is no such right in the pretended delegator's possession: from morality we get no right, because the custody of morality is not committed to us.

Some think that we derive a right from religion: let me expend a moment in denying this! It is quite true, as the last speaker affirmed, that there are two versions of a certain passage in the Bible, by one of which we derive, or ferret out, a sort of vague authority to kill a manslayer; and by the other of which we find no such authority at all. But if there are two versions, each of which has its unyielding defenders, the passage is at best but one of doubtful meaning: and is a doubtful verse a foundation strong enough to sustain the awful act of judicial slaughter? No, Sir, not in the eyes of men of sense.

But we are pointed to the fact that God himself ordained Capital Punishment when He gave laws to the children of Israel. Sir, the Jewish system has been superseded these nineteen centuries, and is now no rule at all for us. Besides, the Jewish law awards death to a host of other offences as well as to murder; and if we take it as our rule in one case, we ought also to follow it in all cases. Should we be right in hanging a man

for killing a sheep? for breaking the Sabbath day? for swearing at his parents? Ridiculous! And so it is also ridiculous to say that we ought to hang for murder *because the Jewish law enjoined it!*

We have been told that the ruler is the representative of the Almighty, and therefore that he is right in inflicting Capital Punishment. The absurdity of this line of argument is easily demonstrable. Was Nero Heaven's viceregent? Was Henry the Eighth Heaven's commissioner? Was Queen Mary the appointed minister of God? These worthies bore "the sword:" was it the sword of eternal justice, think you? They "smote" with it, too: was it in Heaven's name, or in Heaven's cause, or by Heaven's direction that they did so? Are Nero's atrocities to be justified—are Henry the Eighth's 72,000 executions to be approved—are Queen Mary's infamous Smithfield-bonfires to be defended, upon the plea that these wicked sovereigns were "powers ordained of God?" Doubtless power comes from Heaven; all power; the power to kill with the rest; but it may be wrongly used: and the "powers" may be amenable to sense and justice for the errors they commit in the employment of it. Capital Punishment may be wrong, then, in spite of the "divine commission" of the ruler.

The gentleman who spoke last desired to know

how the assertion that all murderers are insane can be *proved*. The answer is most easy: *by the deed of murder itself*. Murder is a thing so unnatural, so revolting, so tremendous, that no sane being can conceive or perpetrate it.

But what do we propose to *substitute* for the penalty of death? is a question asked of us. Sir, it matters not what—that is short of death. Any thing is better than slaughter: for all other punishments affect the body alone, whilst slaughter kills body and soul, too. Let us *imprison our murderers for life*: we imprison our madmen: let us add these to them: and we shall not do wrong. Society will be safe, for the culprit will be precluded from the opportunity of doing further harm: the land will be purified from blood: and the gallows will no longer be the filthy creator of a world of frightful crime.

See Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH'S WORKS, vol. i. pp. 443.;
vol. iii. 309. 367—386.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, vol. xxxv. pp. 320—353.

SYDNEY TAYLOR ON THE PUNISHMENT OF
DEATH, pp. 15—20. 90—94. 119. 176. 258
—261. 417—424.

THE PUNISHMENT OF DEATH REVIEWED. By
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· DYMOND ON PUNISHMENT.

TAYLER LEWIS ON THE GROUND AND REASON
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SAMPSON'S CRIMINAL JURISPRUDENCE.

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THE COMPLETE ARGUMENT AGAINST THE PU-
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REPORTS OF THE CRIMINAL LAW COMMISSIONERS,
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GEORGE COMBE ON PUNISHMENT.

CHEEVER ON DEATH PUNISHMENTS.

QUESTION IV.

Does Morality increase with Civilisation?

OPENER. — Sir, I think we have here lighted upon a question of great value and interest; a question involving some most important principles, and one calculated to lead us to conclusions affecting materially our whole life and conduct.

We are to say *whether Civilisation promotes Morality*; or in simpler words, *whether Knowledge leads to Virtue*. If we say "Yes" to this question, then we shall see that it is our duty to promote the mental instruction of our fellow-men by every means in our power: and if we say "No" to it, then we shall hesitate ere we help to slake that craving thirst for intellectual knowledge which is one of the chief signs of our age, and which is doubtless working towards some vast result of evil or of good.

By the term Morality, Sir, I mean good conduct; conduct in accordance with justice and virtue. I do not mean mere conventional propriety, or simple literal adherence to the moral law; self-interest or hypocrisy may be the source of this:

and the most outwardly irreproachable man may be really the most inwardly foul and detestable of his species. I mean by morality, good conduct springing from true principle: and by my question I seek to know whether this Morality is promoted by the increase of Civilisation. I wish to determine what connection subsists between the mind and the heart: and I think that I cannot better discover this than by the discussion of the subject I have proposed.

I do not mean for the present to take either one side or the other; I candidly own that I come to learn rather than to teach. I have taken some pains to mould my question into the best form that I could shape for it; and I only stay to express my hope that the speakers will keep as closely as possible to the meaning of the subject as I have developed it.

SECOND SPEAKER. — Sir, Fully agreeing with the opener of the debate in the opinion which he has expressed of the importance of the subject, I take the liberty to offer a few remarks to the meeting.

I am inclined to adopt the negative side of this question. I cannot see that there is any connection whatever between knowledge and goodness. Knowledge is the wisdom of the brain: goodness is the wisdom of the heart: and they

are things perfectly distinct and different from one another. This is shown by the fact that very learned men are often very bad men, whilst virtuous men are often very ignorant. Were the affirmative of the question true, it would naturally follow that the wisest men would be the best men; which unfortunately is by no means the case. I am afraid, indeed, that the reverse of this proposition would be nearer the truth: for it too frequently happens, alas! that the wisest are the worst men. History shows us this in many signal instances. One of the most remarkable cases is Lord Bacon's. Here was a man whose intellect was gigantic, and whose attainments were unparalleled: yet his morality was so weak that he was bribed on the very judgment-seat, and ended what might have been a glorious career, in disgrace and humiliating shame. This will show at once that there is no *necessary* connection between intellect and goodness, that there is no road from the head to the heart. We are led to believe, and reason warrants the conclusion, that the very Prince of Evil has surpassing mental strength; but we know he has no virtue: wisdom, therefore, is perfectly consistent with the deepest immorality. When we see, moreover, that the general tendency of mere intellect (unless directed by virtue) is towards evil rather than towards good, I think we can have no doubt that in reply

to the question put from the chair, we must say that Morality does *not* necessarily increase with Civilisation.

THIRD SPEAKER.—Sir, Though my experience in debate has hitherto been but small, I have learned, notwithstanding, that a theory may be exceedingly pretty and true to the look, and yet be altogether contradicted by fact. It seems to me that the theory propounded by the last speaker is just in this predicament: nothing can *seem* more undeniable; nothing can *be* less true.

Theorise as long as we may, there can be no doubt of this, that as the world has been civilised, it has become morally better. I care not into what department of morality you go, you will find improvement upon improvement in it as you trace its history. In political, in social, in domestic or in religious morality, you will discover a complete denial of the theory that wisdom has nothing to do with virtue. The world was in the early ages overrun with violence and blood: now it is covered with peace and plenty. Formerly all nations were at war; now war, although still existing, is almost unknown. History shows us that law was at one time only a series of written tyrannies; now it is, or is gradually becoming, the engraven word of justice. Kings, in ages gone by, were absolute and uncontrolled;

shed the blood of their subjects like water, plundered without pity, and destroyed without remorse: now kings are little more than other men: they are as much amenable to law and reason, and can do no wrong without accounting for it. What has wrought this change? Why civilisation, of course; men *know* better than they did, and therefore *do* better than they did. Learning has generated improvement, and improvement has introduced morality. These, Sir, are my sentiments upon the interesting subject before us.

FOURTH SPEAKER. — Sir, The most that the last speaker has proved is, that there is a *coincidence* between increased civilisation and improved morality: he has by no means shown that there is a *connection* between them. Civilisation has advanced, and morality has advanced; but we may just as well say that the morality has improved the civilisation, as that the civilisation has improved the morality.

If I were asked to name the cause of this improvement in morality, I should ascribe it to Christianity rather than to civilisation. I cannot find that the world advanced much till the Gospel came. It is from *that* period that war declined, that kings were humanised, that laws were ameliorated, and that peace began its reign.

And the influence of Christianity upon virtue is easily traceable; whilst the effect of civilisation is *not* traceable. Peace, justice, mildness, and temperance are the very doctrines of the Gospel: whilst wisdom, I mean worldly wisdom, intellect, genius, and learning are by no means the instruments that the Gospel uses to propagate its principles. "Not many wise, not many learned, are called" to propound its doctrines, and to unravel its mysteries; but men of warm and strong hearts have ever been its most successful preachers.

Civilisation, on the other hand, has clearly done much evil: it has spread error with truth; has introduced luxury and enervating refinement; and has taught the world fraud, pride, and hypocrisy. In barbarism there is no intemperance, no envy, no deceit; but in civilised society all these vices abound. I am of opinion, Sir, that no Poet ever wrote a truer sentiment than Byron produced in that striking line—

"The Tree of Knowledge is not that of Life."

FIFTH SPEAKER.—Sir, I am not at all disposed to deny the vast influence of the Christian religion in humanising and moralising the hearts of men; but I really think that civilisation, or intellectual wisdom, has its merits too.

For myself, Sir, I have always imagined that

the term civilisation *includes Christianity*. Civilisation signifies whatever brings men out of barbarism: and I deem it very unwise to restrict the meaning of the term to mere mental knowledge. I cannot believe that the mind, the intellect of man, has done nothing to improve the condition of the race: I feel that to assert such a thing must be to reflect upon the All-wise Being who gave us our three-fold nature, of body, mind, and soul. One gentleman told us that brain and heart (mind and soul) were distinct and different things. Sir, I cannot think so: they belong to the same being, and must be intimately dependent upon each other. I do not mean to say that the knowledge acquired by the brain must necessarily moralise the heart; but I *do* mean to say that the heart must be *affected* by the brain. Our conscience, for instance, is our moral guide, and reproves or commends us as we go wrong or right. Now the conscience must depend upon the intellect for its knowledge of right and wrong; it is only through the intellect that the moral knowledge comes. Nay, the amount of intellect is, singularly enough, the very gauge of morality. A man who has *no* intellect, an idiot, is very properly not held morally accountable at all; for it is seen that as he cannot *know* right and wrong, he cannot *do* them. If then the doing right or doing wrong absolutely depends upon our in-

tellectual knowledge of the one from the other, how can we say that the heart is not affected by the brain? The Tree of Knowledge is not that of Life, I grant, but Knowledge at least opens our eyes and shows us where Life is.

SIXTH SPEAKER.—A short and easy way of discovering what improvement in morality the present time exhibits as compared with more uncivilised ages, is to take the Decalogue, and see how it is obeyed. This is acknowledged to be our highest moral code, and consequently is the fittest test we can set up.

Do we keep the first then? Do we “**WORSHIP ONLY ONE TRUE GOD?**” Alas! we have a multitude of deities. Mammon, Honour, Glory and Selfishness are worshipped (one or other of them) by the great majority of men. We are little better herein than the heathen who fall down to blocks of wood and stone.

Do we “**HONOUR OUR PARENTS**” as we should? I almost blush to ask the question, Sir; for a shameless disregard of parental authority, a studied contempt for honourable age, is one of the most crying sins of the day.

“**THOU SHALT NOT KILL**” is one of the Deity’s commands: and we break it in a thousand ways. We kill for conquest, for fame, for gold, for revenge, and for many other pretexts, even

worse. O Sir, let us get out of barbarism before we begin to talk about what has been done for us by civilisation!

“THOU SHALT NOT BEAR FALSE WITNESS” is another moral law: and this is the worst kept of all. Who has not been slandered? Who has not been falsely accused? Who has not had his “life’s life lied away” by tongues charged with the venom of wickedness? “*False witness!*” when do we meet with *true* witness? Never, Sir, was falsehood so triumphant as now: and civilisation seems only to swell its glory.

As to the rest of the moral law — it is a mockery to ask how it is observed. Vice, Lewdness, Bigotry, and Superstition sit balefully glittering in the high places of the world, whilst Truth is silenced, and Conscience stifled.

I attribute all this, Sir, to the boasted march of intellect, and I tremble as I do so. For I know that unless the All-wise prevent, we shall be hurried ere long into a blind and bottomless atheism, as miserable as it will be impious.

SEVENTH SPEAKER.—Sir, In spite of the melancholy jeremiad just delivered, I really can by no means see that, bad as the world confessedly is, intellect has done all the mischief. Knowledge must be good, for the Most High is himself omniscient; and although I cannot trace the connection,

I firmly believe that perfect wisdom is perfect goodness. The wisest of men has said "That for the soul to be without knowledge is not good," and I, for one, fully admit the truth of the assertion. Other wise men have told us that religion never comes but through the mind: that we first perceive the glorious handiwork of the Creator in this beautiful and wonderful world, and then rise "from nature up to nature's God";—directed towards revealed religion by natural religion: and the doctrine seems warrantable and reasonable. Which is the more capable of worshipping the Almighty: the untaught savage into whose ignorant mind the rays of thought have never penetrated? or the cultivated philosopher who has discovered the divine hand of the great Creator in his works? The gentleman who spoke last, mourned dolefully over the non-observance of the moral laws: but does not the giving of the moral law to man clearly show that his mind is addressed *in order* that he may be moralised? These laws are communicated to his *mind*: he is made to *know* them: and his obedience is tried and judged by his *knowledge*.

The Gospel is addressed as much to the mind as to the heart: this clearly proves to me that the mind of a man has much to do with his morality. Is not the mind addressed by the preachers of God's word? Nay, how can they get to the

heart at all but *through* the mind? The mind must receive intellectually before the soul can learn spiritually. Where belief is not a matter of the mind, as well as of the heart, it is only a kind of superstition: and thus it is that religion is too often a thing of impulse or passion, instead of one of judgment and conviction.

EIGHTH SPEAKER. — I fear, Sir, that our speakers have gone somewhat into extremes in treating this subject; and I am inclined to fancy that the truth of the matter lies somewhere between them.

Mere intellect, doubtless, leads to error: and so does mere impulse; but there is no truth without mental and moral conviction too. It is unwise to set up the head and the heart as rivals: they are fellow-workers in the cause of virtue, and ought to fraternise, not quarrel.

We owe both good and evil to the brain, and we owe both good and evil to the heart. Pushed to extremes, intellect tends towards disbelief, and feeling towards credulity; it is only by a union of the two that we arrive at truth.

That intellect has done much service to the cause of virtue, I, for my part, cannot doubt for a moment. It has at least taught us to *see*. When Adam plucked of the tree of Knowledge, his eyes were opened. Sight, is the first step towards

wisdom, and towards virtue also: for we must see evil before we can begin to attack it. We have seen not a little evil, and through seeing, have abolished it. We have seen, for instance, that *absolute sovereignty* is bad, and we have done away with it: we have seen that *slavery* is abominable, and we have almost destroyed it: we have seen that *war* is detestable, and we have well nigh discontinued the practice: and we have seen and abolished a thousand other pressing errors.

We have been told that Civilisation has introduced some vices. I will not attempt to deny it. Nothing on earth is perfect, and intellect is, like every thing else, liable to go wrong. But it generally works its own cure. Thus, although it has introduced luxury, it has discovered and taught the great lesson that luxury is an evil; and although it has introduced hypocrisy, it has raised in many minds a love of truth far higher and purer than it would or could have been but for the contrast. I shall certainly vote in the affirmative.

NINTH SPEAKER.—It may be very true, Sir, and I believe it *is* true, that as Civilisation has advanced, outward Morality has improved. I admit that the world *looks* better than it formerly looked, but whether it *is* better, is quite another thing. I have my fears, Sir, on this matter. I

fear that crime is quite as great, although not quite so glaring. We have less violence, less bloodshed, and less fighting on the field of battle: but there is just as much strife in our hearts, and just as much mutual hate. In addition to this, there are to be added the crimes which Civilisation clearly causes. I think that the liar, the hypocrite, the miser, the slanderer and the spend-thrift are creations of civilised society alone. In barbarism these characters do not exist: there may be others, perhaps, belonging peculiarly to savage life: but in my opinion they are not so bad. Besides these, society creates the atheist, the sceptic, the scorner, the infidel, and the bigot. Compared with the condition, physical as well as moral, of the happy inhabitant of the woods and wilds, civilised man seems a tamed; a spiritless, a conventional and degraded being: farther from his fellow-man, and farther from his God.

Take the history of any nation you please, and you will find that its course is—first civilisation, then luxury, and then ruin and decay. It was so with Greece, so with Rome, and it promises to be so with France and with England too. It seems to me that virtue and happiness are infinitely more prevalent in a barbarous state than in a civilised one, and I cannot but attribute the comparative unworthiness of the civilised community to the influence of mere intellect unac-

• accompanied by morality. With these sentiments I shall certainly vote in the negative of the proposition which has been read from the chair.

TENTH SPEAKER.—Sir, I really wonder that the gentleman who last addressed us spoke in English. He seemed so enamoured of the happiness of the woods and wilds, that I imagined him a Red Indian in the disguise of a gentleman, and I was only surprised that he did not speak his barbarian morality in a barbarian tongue.

• But to be serious: I am surprised beyond expression that an individual can be found to lament that the world has been civilised, and to wish for the pleasures of barbarism, in place of the pleasures of refinement. How he can imagine that a barbarian is happier than a civilised man, I cannot conceive. He will not pretend that he is *physically* happier, I suppose: for surely regular food, appropriate clothing, and comfortable lodgement are far superior to the coarse victuals, the ragged garments and the rude hut of the savage. Nor can he maintain that the savage is *mentally* happier: for I am sure that our friend must have felt at some time or other the magnificent delights of thought, of reason, of reflection; and must have then believed that no delights could be more full of happiness. Neither will he say that the savage is *morally* happier; for the pleasures of

hope, of benevolence, of affection, of charity, of social intercourse, and of religious belief and meditation are altogether strangers to his heart: whilst to the very worst of *us* they are all in some measure known. Amongst all our errors, Sir, never let us fall into so gross a one as to wish that we were still barbarians.

These remarks may not *seem* altogether to the point: but they are; for if it can be shown that the civilised man is more happy than the barbarian, then he must be morally better: for

“Virtue alone is happiness below:”

and consequently the possession of superior happiness at once proves the existence of superior morality.

ELEVENTH SPEAKER.—It seems to me, Sir, that after all, this question is mainly one of *fact*. *Experience*, not *speculation*, must decide the matter for us. *Are men better than they were?* Do we actually find it so, or not?

It is true that it is difficult to judge; but we *can* judge, for all that. Admitting that much of the world's apparent virtue is unreal, the very assumption proves that there is real virtue to represent. There would be no false coin were there no true money; and so in like manner there would be no mock goodness were there no real virtue to counterfeit.

There appears to be no question that the world is better *conducted* than it was. Kings are milder, laws are juster, judges are less prejudiced and corruptible: and men of all sorts and classes are infinitely better behaved. But is the world better-*hearted*? that is the question. I maintain that it is; and I think I can prove the correctness of my assertion.

How is it, I would ask, that all these great changes have been wrought? How is it that Tyranny has been repressed, Injustice subdued, and Licentiousness put down? Simply by the force of public opinion. The minds of men have discovered that Tyranny, Injustice, and Licentiousness are evils; and these truths would never have been arrived at but from a growing belief in Morality, and an increasing desire to apply its principles.

Compare the public opinion of Crime in the present day with the public opinion of Crime a hundred years ago, and you will see an improvement in the moral conviction, as well as in the intellectual perception, of the nature and consequences of evil. Formerly murder was so common, as scarcely to be deemed a crime: street assassinations were things of every-day occurrence: now, murder is felt to be so ghastly a deed, that no sane man can be supposed to perpetrate it. Formerly, Duelling was a practice

universally approved and followed: now it is looked upon as an imbecile folly, and a cowardly sin. Formerly, debauchery was considered a most excusable, indeed indispensable, mode of life; now it meets with the contempt of every thoughtful man; nay, even with the pity and ridicule of every well-taught child. Drunkenness and profanity were the practices of even the educated and the great: now, a gentleman is never seen intoxicated, and never heard to swear: he considers either practice a disgrace to him.

Turn where we will, we cannot fail to see that the standard of morality is far higher than it was; and moreover, is rising day by day to nobler heights; and although I will not go so far as to say that the march of intellect has *caused*, and is *causing*, this, I am satisfied that the improvement in Mind and in Morals has been, and is contemporaneous: and therefore that there *is* a relation, and a very close one, between the Brain and the Heart.

I do not pretend to say that by making a man wise, you are sure to make him good: nor do I affirm that the surest Producer of happiness is intellectual cultivation: but I assert, and will maintain, that the more a man is civilised, the more he is *made capable* of being good, the more he will incline to, and seek after virtue: and far from entertaining any fears that the spread of Know-

ledge which we witness in the present day, is calculated to do harm to the cause of morality, I feel the strongest hope and belief that it is fast preparing the way for a nobler and purer reign of goodness than has ever yet been known on earth.

TWELFTH SPEAKER.—Sir, I grieve that I cannot join in the pleasing anticipations which have been so warmly depicted by the last speaker. The dream is a pleasing one, Sir, but it *is* a dream, and we must not allow it to mislead us.

I cannot see upon what grounds, either of fact or logic, the gentleman has built his conclusions.

It cannot be from experience: for I defy him to point out an instance in history when a period of mere intellectual activity has been succeeded by a period of increased morality: nay, I defy him to name an age of intellectual greatness which has not been followed by a *diminished* morality.

I will not refer to *ancient* times, for the examples are too remote: but I will instance *modern* times instead. The revival of letters in Italy was succeeded by a grosser superstition than men had ever known before: the Shaksperian era of literature was followed by fanaticism, tyranny, and civil war: the wonderful age in French intellectual history which is represented by Voltaire and Rousseau, was succeeded by revolutionary frenzy and hideous licentious atheism.

So that fact will not support the vision of our friend.

But will philosophy, will reason, warrant his agreeable but improbable belief? What is there in the nature of things to lead him to suppose that knowledge is the precursor of virtue? Seeing is not doing :

“ Men know the right, and yet the wrong pursue.”

Adam knew full well that a penalty was attached to breaking the law which God gave him in Paradise : but the knowledge did not restrain him from plucking the forbidden fruit ; on the contrary, it directly incited him to his crime.

Knowledge of good is worth nothing until the *power* to do good is given : and that power comes from the Most High alone. I am quite ready to grant that virtue with intellect combined is far greater than virtue alone, and will do more good : but mere intellectual force or subtlety never was, and in my opinion never will be, the *cause* of goodness. “ The serpent was more subtle than any beast of the field.”

THIRTEENTH SPEAKER.—Sir, King Solomon once said—“ With all thy gettings get *understanding* :” and I am firmly persuaded that this injunction would never have been recorded in Holy Writ, were there no good to be got from the mind’s cultivation.

In spite of the last speaker's logic, I still believe that the improvement of the understanding *does* promote morality. We know that unless a physician is acquainted with the disease of his patient, he cannot possibly cure him. Now immorality is the disease of the soul; and unless a man knows the nature and symptoms of the disorder, it is impossible that he can heal it. Knowledge is, both in physics and in morals, the first step towards recovery.

It is true that great knowledge may be allied to profound immorality: but perfect wisdom must be perfect virtue. The serpent was more subtle than any beast of the field it is true: but the Most High was much wiser than the serpent.

I do not look upon intellect as the absolute *cause* of virtue; but I would rather liken it to the forerunner of virtue. It opens the way, it sheds light upon the path, and it removes difficulties and obstructions which would otherwise be insurmountable.

OPENER (*in reply*).—Sir, I feel now fully prepared to maintain the affirmative of the question which I was the means of submitting to the consideration of the meeting. That morality increases with civilisation, I have now not the slightest doubt.

The position I mean to assume is this: that

knowledge is not in any sense the *cause* of goodness: but that its progress is always contemporaneous and coincident with the progress of goodness. I have come to the conclusion, that although knowledge and virtue are by no means mutually affected, yet the causes that advance the one *must* advance the other: and therefore that they progress together.

I trust that this position will be understood. Two needles may be attracted towards one magnet: neither needle helps the other, yet both are drawn forward. Just in like manner the mind and soul (the brain and heart) are both carried onward by civilisation, yet neither is indebted to the other for its progress.

That the intellect and morality *do* advance in equal ratio, must now, I think, be tolerably clear. The great moral improvements that have taken place in every department of human life and conduct, are of themselves sufficient to prove this assertion. If there be any doubt remaining, I would ask the objector to explain this fact, that crime always exists in proportion to ignorance. Malefactors are nearly all uneducated. Our prisons are filled, not with men of intellect and learning, but with men of ignorance and folly.

A gentleman who spoke recently, asserted that an age of intellectual activity is always followed by an age of immorality. I do not doubt it, Sir.

Who reaps his harvest on the day after he sows his corn? Who expects fruit in the winter?

In the natural world the seed is sown: *then it perishes*: then it quickens: then it springs up: and then it bears fruit. And in the moral world the process is the same. The germ of truth is cast into the heart: *then it is lost in darkness*: then it is revived: then it shows its blossom to the world: and then the blossom is succeeded by the fruit.

This will explain to our friend the phenomena of the dark ages that succeeded the periods of enlightenment to which he directed our attention.

In those ages of intellect, the seeds of truth were *sown*: and, as was natural, in the next age those seeds *perished*: but the periods of darkness were succeeded by eras of brightness superior to any that had gone before: and then the world *reaped the produce*.

And this is the course of truth in *all* ages. With light there is always darkness: with truth there is always an intermixture of error: but as darkness always makes daylight the brighter, so the existence of error always leads to the discovery of higher truth. Had sin never entered the world, it is true that man would never have known death; but neither would he have known Heaven. Night shows us stars, Sorrow shows us truths,

and the knowledge of Sin shows us the beauty of Morality.

See MACAULAY'S ESSAYS, vol. i. p. 70 et seq.; *ibid.*
p. 256 et seq.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, vol. xv. p. 313; vol. xvii.
p. 65.; vol. xxix. p. 456.

M'CULLOCH'S PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL ECO-
NOMY, pp. 63—76.

GOLDSMITH'S CITIZEN OF THE WORLD.

HUME'S ESSAYS, vol. i. p. 285 et seq.

MACKINNON'S HISTORY OF CIVILISATION.

WHEWELL'S ELEMENTS OF MORALITY.

FOSTER'S ESSAY ON THE EVIL OF POPULAR
IGNORANCE.

GUIZOT'S HISTORY OF CIVILISATION.

QUESTION V.

Has the Stage a Moral Tendency?

FIRST SPEAKER.—Sir, The question of the morality or immorality of theatrical entertainments is one of the most interesting, and probably one of the most important, that can engage us. When we reflect upon the universal passion that has been exhibited for this species of amusement; when we further remember that some of the noblest productions of human intellect have been offered to the world through the medium of the Stage; and when, lastly, we bear in mind that the theatre is one of the chief pleasures of the youthful members of the community in all times and countries, we shall see at once that we have here a subject well worthy of debate.

I mean to maintain, Sir, that the Stage has not a moral tendency: and I come to this conclusion not because I have any ascetic objection to the gay nature of the pleasure in itself, nor because I think that there are any sound religious objections against theatrical entertainments in the abstract; but because, after fairly weighing the arguments

for and against, I conceive that the Stage does more harm than good.

That the Stage *might be made* a great and powerful moral teacher, I will not pretend to dispute: that it *has done* much moral good, I will not deny either: but our question concerns the *present* tendency of the drama only: and *that*, I still assert, is evil.

What, then, *is* the Stage? A medium for presenting to the world the sweepings and rubbish-heaps of intellect: Tragedies of milk and water: Comedies of fashionable licentiousness: Farces of inane absurdity: Dramas of blood, blue-fire and slang: Operas of the most irredeemable silliness; and Ballets of the most gross indecency.

This is the Stage itself; and now what of its promoters? Its *authors* (with one or two exceptions) are not the men of talent of the day (—they are driven away from the boards by want of encouragement)—but the scavengers of literature: men who do not originate, but copy from the worst originals they can find, and manage to corrupt even them. The implements of our dramatists are not thought, passion, and knowledge; but scissors and paste merely. Oh! what a change from Shakspeare!

‘Who but must mourn, while these are all the rage,
The degradations of our vaunted stage?’

And who are the actors? There are individual

exceptions of great worth, but as a body they are the most profligate, shameless, and impure of the species. You find among them adulterers, seducers, gamblers, drunkards, and common knaves innumerable: who can expect much morality from them?

And who are the patrons of the Stage? Who are the people that visit the theatre? Listless fashionables, rakish dandies, smug apprentices, dissipated shopmen, and idlers about town: just the very congregation you would expect to attend such preaching!

I feel that I have very little need to ask you whether all this can be in the least favourable to morality: for myself I am at present quite convinced to the contrary; and until I hear arguments stronger than any to which I have ever yet listened on the subject, I fear that I shall remain of the same opinion.

SECOND SPEAKER.—Sir, With a great deal that was smart and pointed in the remarks of the previous speaker, there was, in my opinion, much that was thoughtless, if not illogical. Admitting that the Stage is neither so great nor so pure as it was in Shakspeare's time, the proof of this is by no means a fair argument against its abstract morality. Every thing of earth is liable to abuse: and the Stage is of course not an exception.

Our friend referred to the great taste that exists for theatrical entertainments: now does not this of itself prove that the Stage is looked to by mankind as a moral teacher? So extended and universal a passion ought to be gratified because it *is* extended and universal. I would not pander to that taste: but I would certainly do my best to satisfy it, and through it direct the mind to truly moral pleasures.

What the Stage has done ought to be most carefully borne in mind in answering the question. We should not forget how the Greek tragedians softened, purified, and elevated the barbaric mind: how the Roman players extended civilisation and refinement; how the great Shakspeare impressed the heart of the world with thoughts of truth, grace, and beauty, that can never die: and how since, as well as previously, our dramatists have portrayed, and our actors have delineated, honour, courage, patriotism, friendship, and virtue, till their principles must have been engraven in the very souls of the spectators.

Well, if the Drama has done this, it can surely do it still. What has been, may always be again: and although it must be admitted that the Drama of the present day is not to be approved or defended, still I believe that it is even now working

its own cure, and that before long, the full glory and full value of the Stage will re-appear.

THIRD SPEAKER. — Sir, I really feel some difficulty in following my worthy friend who has just ceased to speak : for I am not accustomed to such peculiar logic, and such extraordinary metaphysics.

The first argument which the gentleman employed to defend dramatic representations was one of the most striking and original I ever remember to have heard. It was to this effect : That as there exists (whether right or wrong, no matter) in a certain class of the community, a “taste” for dramatic representations, it is right, nay it is necessary, to gratify that taste. Truly this is very entertaining logic ; and will lead us to strange conclusions, I imagine. Sir, I have been credibly informed, and by many concurrent testimonies have been led to believe, that there exists, somewhere or other in this great metropolis, a somewhat large class of persons facetiously denominated the “light-fingered gentry,” who have a “taste” for relieving people’s pockets of silk handkerchiefs, purses, snuff-boxes, and other trinkets, equally desirable. Now, according to our friend, this taste ought to be gratified. Here it is, and we ought not by any means to oppose it. No matter whether picking and stealing be

moral or not, if people *will* pick and steal, it is nothing but fair and right to give them the opportunity.

The gentleman would have spoken more to the point, Sir, if he had examined the taste itself. Though perhaps the course he took was, after all, the wiser one; seeing that the examination I propose would only have brought him a more complete defeat.

Why is this passion for dramatic representations implanted in so many breasts? Sir, the minds that harbour the passion are minds which either dislike or cannot encounter real life; and therefore seek a false existence in fictitious performances. Such minds are countless, and therefore it is no wonder that there should be in all ages, countless favourers of the Drama.

It is because the Stage is essentially unreal, Sir, that I deem it detrimental to morality; and for that reason it has always received my most strenuous and decided opposition.

FOURTH SPEAKER. — I think that the explanation which has just been given of the causes of men's pleasure in theatrical amusements is not by any means a wise or true one. The first and chief reason for the taste seems unquestionably to be the absolute need of amusement. The mind must now and then unbend and luxuriate: and

the gay doings of the theatre form altogether perhaps the best means of relaxation. But besides this, there is a great mental pleasure provided by the very nature of the Drama itself. It represents life and nature *in heroics*, and so raises, refreshes, and restores the weary and depressed spirit of the world-fatigued and careworn spectator.

It is this that to my mind makes the Stage a moralizer. In his contact with the world, man forms a low and grovelling idea of life and of his fellow-men: the meanness, selfishness, bitterness, and hypocrisy, which he sees around him, all serve to contract and lower his estimate of humanity. But the Stage shows him the world in its finest and brightest colours; brings before him the great, good, and glorious of his species; and so raises and elevates the conceptions which he had previously formed. The Drama gives us the romantic side of life, and thus makes the literal more endurable. In the theatre we quit the sordid world of fraud, semblance, and ambition, and enter into the beautiful realm of the Ideal. Our eyes and hearts are there feasted with purity, loftiness and heroism, and we are beckoned by the models of goodness there displayed, to tread with them the paths of virtue or of greatness, and to win a like renown. Depend upon it that the Drama's exhibition of bravery, strength, resolu-

tion and affection, has done no little to foster and nourish those sentiments in the hearts of the spectators who have witnessed them.

FIFTH SPEAKER.—Sir, The very reason which the last speaker has urged in favour of the Drama, is to me the strongest possible proof of its evil tendency.

The speaker described the Stage as the representation of life in heroics: I agree with him that it is so. But, Sir, we want *realities* not *ideals*: we want to see the world as *it is*, not the world as fancy portrays it. The admission that the Drama presents to our view idealities instead of truths, is a knock-down blow to the Stage at once; for the greatest dramatist the world has ever seen has told us that the object of the Stage is “To show Virtue her own feature, Scorn her own image, the very body of the time its form and ‘pressure.” As then it is admitted that the Drama is now prostituted to improper uses, I am at a loss to conceive how it can be further defended.

And these said “*heroics*,” what are they? What sort of heroes and patterns have we on the Stage? They are conquerors, glory-seekers, accomplished villains, stoics, chivalric blood-stained knights, and so forth. The sentiments they utter are “ambition,” “renown,” “honour,”

“war,” brute “courage,” and other virtues of similar nature.

One of the great heroes of the Stage is *Cato*. He is described as

“A brave man struggling with the storms of fate,
And greatly falling with a falling state.”

Stoical indifference is called “brave struggling,” and cowardly suicide is called “greatly falling!” A pretty example of heroism this, to a world prone and ready to imitate!

Lucius Junius Brutus is another of the Drama’s heroes. The example he sets us is to order the execution of his sons, for a simple act of disobedience! Very refreshing and elevating this must be to a tired and sated mind! Very much it must raise the spectators’ conception of human nature!

And this is a fair sample of what the Drama almost always represents to us. Vile passions are invested with the garb of virtue, folly wears the aspect of wisdom, and crime is clothed with the attributes of greatness. To say that the Drama *might be pure* is beside the question: what the Drama is, must be the subject we debate: and judging of the Drama by what we see and know of it, I think we cannot hesitate to say that its tendency is clearly towards evil.

SIXTH SPEAKER.—Sir, It would be folly to

deny that a great deal of evil exists in the Drama and in the Theatre: but I think it equal folly to affirm that the evil of dramatic entertainments outweighs the good. Our friend who spoke last has referred us to some of the *bad* examples which the Stage presents to us, but he quite omitted to instance any of the good ones. Nay, he led us to believe that there were *no* good ones: a great error, as I shall attempt to show.

I instance then, *Macbeth*. We are made to see, first, the generous, brave, and successful warrior, "returning home in triumph" to the honours he has won. We next see the spectre of ambition cross his path. We see him parleying with temptation till at last it conquers him, and forces him to resolve and commit a foul and atrocious murder. We then see him invested with the object of his desire, the purple of royalty. And then the lesson begins. We see retribution come. We see the sinner stung by the serpent of remorse: hurried on by fear from crime to crime: deserted by his guilty hopes and weird helpers: and at last dying the death of a hunted brute. Is there no morality in this? No lesson? No example to the world?

I point you next to *William Tell*. Here the poet makes us see the hideousness of moral slavery: shows us that to fight for freedom is at once the duty and the happiness of man: and

raises up in *Tell* the patriot whom chains cannot bind, whom authority cannot subdue, whom death itself cannot appal, when battling for truth and right. Who will deny the fine and pure morality of this? Who will say that the example thus presented to the eyes and hearts of men will fail of its effect?

In *Cordelia* again, what a beautiful and affecting picture of filial devotedness is presented to us! What heart can fail to be touched and improved by the picture? In prosperity and adversity, in madness and death, this affectionate child ever clings to her wayward parent, and offers an example that we may be sure not a few have followed.

I might instance other characters, but these will suffice. They will serve to show that the Stage is not that promoter of immorality which so many have taken great pains to prove it.

SEVENTH SPEAKER.—Sir, The last speaker has confounded the word “Stage” with the word “Drama.” But the Drama and the Stage are two totally different things: the Drama consists in what is *written* for the Theatre: the Stage is — what is *produced* there.

Now it unfortunately happens that the bright and good examples to which the gentleman has referred are just the very things that are never

seen upon our boards. Were the theatre always to exhibit the plays of Shakspeare, Knowlton, Otway, Sheridan, and the other great dramatists who have recorded their imperishable works in our literature, no one would object to it. But unluckily, these great moral writers are just those whose works are not performed. Directly a manager produces one of these moral plays, his audience deserts him; and therefore, granting that the works of these writers have a moral tendency, it is evident that they do not suit the Stage: or in other words, Morality is discountenanced there, because it is felt to be out of place.

The question for us to decide is simply this: Are moral plays written for our Stage—are moral plays morally represented there? I for one say “No” to this; and say it advisedly. I appeal to all who hear me, whether our Stage does not now (I do not say in every instance, but as a whole) present us with the most abominable trash and the most offensive immorality that it is possible to conceive? Vapid idealism distinguishes our Tragedy; low intrigue and disgraceful amours are the staple commodity of our Comedy; nonsense (adapted from the French) animates our Farce; and the exploits of highwaymen, pickpockets, and burglars inspire our Melodramas.

If any one wants to know what sort of piece attracts most at our theatres, I will tell him—

"JONATHAN BRADFORD," "JACK SHEPPARD," or "TOM AND JERLY" Any thing that has crime, red-fire, murder, robbery, or horror in it is sure to draw; whilst a moral play is represented to empty benches. Let me not be told, Sir, that the Stage is a teacher of morals, for it is evident that men will not listen to the charmer, charm he never so wisely.

I have said, Sir, that were Shakspeare, Otway, Knowles, Sheridan, and our other great writers, always and only represented on the stage, I should not object to the theatre for a moment. But when I say this, I wish to say also that I by no means join in the blind enthusiasm which is felt for these writers. Even Shakspeare is not perfect. The murderer Brutus is not worthy of honour, although we are led to think so: and many other characters I could name are by no means deserving of the esteem he claims for them. In like manner, Otway gives more honour than can ever be due to conspirators to his favourite Pierre; and Sheridan invests the gay rake Charles Surface with a brilliancy and interest which ought never to attach to a debauchee.

EIGHTH SPEAKER. — Sir, Theatrical entertainments seem to me to be so rational and natural an amusement, that until a stronger argument than the fact that they have been abused, is

produced, I shall certainly support and defend them.

The universality of the passion for this species of amusement is (in spite of the ridicule thrown upon the fact) a strong argument in favour of the Stage: for pleasures may always be made moral teachers if they are rightly employed, and consequently this universal amusement is capable of being a universal means of instruction and profit.

That the passion is a natural one is proved by the fact, that so soon as a child begins to think and act, it exhibits a predilection for representing by identification what is passing around it. Now, Sir, I would not oppose this desire; for, being natural, how could I hope to overcome it. But I would shape it into proper form, direct it towards virtue, and so ensure a good Stage instead of an evil one.

I said, too, that the passion was rational. Man is an imitative being, and meant to be so, for he learns by imitation. It is reasonable, therefore, that he should delight in the representation of persons and things in the various positions that fancy can invent. By witnessing these representations his perceptions are sharpened, his reflection is aroused, and his sympathies are extended. He learns to judge, to think, and to feel; and the mimic world of imagination serves to fit him for the real world of life. He is thus moralised, not by

homily, but by example. He carries the wisdom he acquires from the scene of fiction into the sphere of fact; and the sympathies which he feels for the ideal beings of the Stage are extended to the actual fellow-creatures whom he meets with in his daily life. For these reasons I approve of the Stage.

NINTH SPEAKER.—Sir, The arguments of the last speaker appear to me to be somewhat strange.

He says that the Drama is proved to be a rational and fit amusement for mankind because *children* show a passion for it. Now, granting his fact, I am compelled to draw an exactly opposite conclusion from it. To my mind it seems to follow as a necessary consequence that the amusements of the child are *not* fit amusements for the man. Play is peculiar to children, and as they grow up they acquire a distaste for it. Children all like pantomimes; but will any man of sense say that therefore pantomimes are fit amusements for men? The predilections of children, then, are rather arguments against the Stage, than reasons in its favour.

I object also to the *last* argument of the speaker. He maintains that the Drama moralises by example; that, by exciting our sympathies, and sharpening our perceptions, it prepares us to feel and to see in the busy world of life. I cannot

admit this. I believe the excitement to be, not *real* excitement, but *false*. We are excited, not by truth, but by falsehood and error: and mostly in the direction of wrong objects. We are excited by false shows (such as pity for blood-dyed ruffians, compassion for unreal suffering, and admiration for brave villains) until our sympathies are overstrained. We cannot over-estimate this evil. The strained mind must be reacted upon before it can regain its equilibrium; and we may be pretty sure of this, that he who is most violently affected by the fictitious scenes of sorrow and distress which he beholds on the stage, will be the first to repulse the poor beggar who craves an alms from him as he goes to his home. These convictions, Sir, lead me to regard the Stage as of immoral tendency.

TENTH SPEAKER. — Sir, The Stage was objected to by one of the gentlemen who addressed us because of the bad character of the performers. Now, without attempting to defend this immorality, let me just point out to our friend that other men may be quite as bad, only they may not be found out. Actors, being public characters, are publicly canvassed and criticised; and thus it is that their faults are seen. Besides, it should be recollected that they are placed in circumstances of extreme temptation; and any persons so placed

would doubtless give way as they do. I do not urge this as an excuse for the bad conduct of the actors, Sir, but simply as the reason and explanation of it.

The uses of the Stage have not, in my opinion, yet been fairly pointed out. Shakspeare tells you its *direct* object—to reflect the age: but it can do other things beyond this. It has often been employed to still popular discontent and political excitement. Brutus, by engaging a company of comedians, and throwing open the theatres to the populace, quieted very serious disturbances in Rome. In our own country the same practice has been resorted to, and has proved successful.

Further, the Stage is very useful to expose and satirise the vices of the great. Where there is a court, there are always parasites, flatterers, debauchees, slanderers, and other vile characters: the Stage offers the best medium I know for holding up these persons to public derision and reproof.

Another great merit of the Stage is, that it is the sole national school of elocution. It is only in the theatre that we meet with models whom we can safely follow in the art of speech; and this at a time when the power of speech is so useful and valuable is, I conceive, a great argument in favour of the Stage.

ELEVENTH SPEAKER. — Sir, The early arguments that were brought forward in this debate in proof of the morality of the Stage, had, I must confess, some little weight; but the reasons since urged have become “small by degrees and beautifully less;” just as the wine gets worse and worse at a cheap feast.

The arguments of the last speaker certainly are the poorest of all that I have heard: let us look at them.

He first says that the admitted immorality of the actors is excusable because they are public men; and because if other people were placed in the same position, they would be guilty of the same crimes. Why, this just proves our position for us: it is one of the strongest arguments against the Stage that could have been employed. I admit that if other people were placed in the position of actors they would be guilty of the same immoralities: and why do I make that admission? Because I see clearly that the Stage has a tendency towards these immoralities; and must, in fact, produce them. Doctor Johnson was forced to confess that the allurements of the Stage were too much for his virtue; and millions besides Doctor Johnson have admitted and exemplified this truth. In the vices of the actors, Sir, there is nothing but necessary cause and effect.

The gentleman said, secondly, that the Stage

can be used to still political excitement. I will tell my friend an anecdote. When the terrible atrocities of the Reign of Terror were taking place in the September of the French Revolution, Robespierre and his associates caused all the theatres to be opened free of charge. This had the effect of diverting the popular mind, and so the fiendish murders were passed over without concern; instead of raising a shout of execration that should have shaken the heavens. The use of the theatre then is to stifle man's natural sense of justice, and to send his moral feelings to sleep.

Next we are told that the theatre is very useful as a means to expose the follies of the great. Yes! but this is just the only thing that it never *does!* The theatre is dependant on the great for its support, and *dare not* satirize the great. Is not the Lord Chamberlain, the very head and representative of aristocracy, the licenser of plays?

Lastly, we learned that the Stage is useful as a school of elocution. Sir, we do not want a national school of elocution. So long as there are natural passions, feelings, and emotions in the human mind, so long will Nature teach us how to express them: and when there are no such passions, feelings, and emotions, we shall not want the instruction. Nay, does not the actor himself copy his art from Nature? Surely then if the great

original remains, we need not be very anxious about the imitation.

TWELFTH SPEAKER.—Sir, Although I admit that I am no great admirer of the Stage as we behold it in the present day, I yet think there are some sound arguments in its favour as an abstract amusement.

The Stage has been objected to because it is abused. Now, with some of the speakers who have gone before me, I cannot think this fair. It should be looked at in the abstract: and if its design and object were candidly examined, I feel sure that we must admit that the Stage might be made one of the noblest moral teachers we could possess. It seems to me that it might be made our purest moral school.

We should not forget the debt we owe to the Stage. It elevated Grecian society, it purified Roman morals, it taught our ignorant people religion through its “mysteries” and “moralities,” and through Shakspeare it presented the world with the noblest volume of truth and wisdom that uninspired man ever wrote.

I would further defend the Stage upon the ground that light amusements, of the nature which the Drama provides, are necessary for the relief and diversion of men’s minds. The most trifling, and indeed in themselves most ridiculous, amuse-

ments have been resorted to, by the greatest men, for mere relaxation. A celebrated king of Greece rode on hobby-horses with his children; a renowned English earl used to play at marbles with his sons; and the naturalist Buffon used to jump over the stools and chairs in his study. This will show that the mind must and will be unbent; and now I ask, what amusement is there that will compare with the Drama? I will here leave the subject, as I think it has now been fully discussed.

OPENER (*in reply*).—I shall not trespass long upon your time in reply. My opinions on this subject have undergone no change, but have been entirely confirmed by the debate which has taken place.

Whilst I readily admit that the Stage has been, and might be again, a useful moral teacher, I am still prepared to maintain that the Stage, as it is, is most objectionable and immoral in its tendencies.

Immoral productions, immoral actors, immoral adjuncts, and immoral auditors, form the undeniable concomitants of the Drama of the day. False feelings, false conclusions, and false principles, are abundantly generated by it. It is the cause of dissipation, late hours, and other evils which have been pointed out, and therefore I unhesitatingly condemn it.

Only one of the arguments employed to defend the Stage seems to me to have any weight in it. It is the argument that we ought to look abstractedly at the theatre, and not argue against it because it is abused. I do not wonder that our opponents are anxious for an abstract view of this matter: for that is the only way in which their case looks at all respectable. But, Sir, are we not justified in refusing to decide the question in this manner? It is now clear that the Stage *tends towards abuse*, and therefore it must be judged *through* its abuses.

The last speaker urged that the Stage is defensible on the ground that trifling amusements are necessary for the diversion of men's minds. I quite agree with him, Sir, that the Stage is a frivolous amusement; but I do not agree with him that *therefore* it is a fit recreation. The gentleman quoted some examples to prove his point; but what were they? Why, that the great men to whom he referred actually did not choose the Stage at all, but other and more innocent amusements, for their relaxation! So much for that.

The gentleman further said that the Stage is a moral school. That word "school," Sir, was the most unlucky word he could have chosen. We have had to condemn its *lessons*; we have had to condemn its *teachers*: now, let us look for a moment at its *scholars*. If you want to

find them, go to the box-lobbies of any metropolitan theatre, and you will see as dissipated, as rakish, and as morally unclean a set of pupils as ever existed in the world. If you want to see them further, try the nearest Cider-cellars or Pandemoniums, after the performances are over, and there you will find them carrying into practice the high lessons they have learned.

But, Sir, I must conclude: for I fear that I have already taken up too much of your time. I simply commit the question to your fair decision.

See EDINBURGH REVIEW, vol. xiv. p. 148.

MACAULAY'S ESSAYS, vol. ii. p. 264 et seq

JEREMY COLLIER ON THE STAGE.

DR. STYLES ON THE STAGE.

QUESTION VI.

Have the Crusades been beneficial to Mankind?

FIRST SPEAKER.—Sir, It will be generally admitted, I think, that it is scarcely possible to select a subject for discussion more calculated to awaken interest and thought, than that which has been just read from the chair. It is now universally felt that the Crusades form the starting-point, and first page, of Modern European History; and the perusal and careful study of that page cannot fail to make us see and judge more wisely the rest of the volume. It will be not merely an amusing, but an instructive task, to carry ourselves back into the early ages of civilisation, and trace the development and growth of those great principles which have since proved so important to the world. I have only to solicit the kind patience of the meeting whilst the task is performed.

To decide whether these vast and extraordinary enterprises have been of service to the world, we must see what the world was when they were undertaken, and then what it was after they were over.

We cannot of course survey the whole world at once; so we will take England as its type, which doubtless it was. What then, was England at this time? The answer is easily given—*a land of slavery*. By the Normans, the English people were *personally* and *politically* enslaved; by ignorance they were *mentally* enslaved; and by the foulest superstition they were *morally* enslaved. A more complete state of degradation and bondage cannot be conceived.

Well, the Crusades occurred; and as if by magic, the bondsmen's chains began to break and fall asunder. The feudal system relaxed: the sovereign power was coerced and reduced: Magna Charta was gained by the people: personal bondage gradually declined: mental and moral slavery were exposed by Wickliff and the other successors of the holy men who called Europe into arms; and from that time civilisation took firm footing in Europe.

By the Crusades, then, was generated that enthusiastic love of Freedom which has ever since been so prominent a feature in the European character. Peter the Hermit little thought when he was calling on all Christians to put an end to the miserable bondage of the worshippers in the East, that he was insuring the freedom, bodily and mental, of the West, as well. But the wise Disposer of Events had ordered it so, and so it came to pass.

To the Crusades we further owe the improvement and enlightenment of European taste and learning. The splendour, the riches, and the gorgeous architecture of the East contributed materially to our advancement. They led us to imitate what we found of superiority: they enlarged our ideas: and so added many new sources of happiness. From the East we gained much learning, too: the wisdom of the Arabian sages became open and revealed to us, and assisted our progress both in art and literature. The Crusades opened fresh fields for our commerce, also. Europe found that in the East its merchandize was welcome and in demand; and thus its manufacturing superiority commenced. I might instance many other benefits that resulted to Europe, and to the world at large, from these great and singular expeditions, but these will suffice, at least at present: I doubt not that many of my supporters will make up for my deficiencies; and for myself, I think it sufficient now to say that I consider the Crusades *were* extremely beneficial to the world.

SECOND SPEAKER.—Sir, It will help us to form a correct decision upon the subject under debate, if we look at the *origin* and *nature* of the Crusades.

What were these expeditions, then? Wars; cruel wars; religious wars. Now, I question whether war in any case (save for the preservation

of life) is justifiable by morality : but war without attack or provocation is, beyond all question, condemnable and abominable.

The Crusades, then, being proved to be evil in their origin, cannot, I believe, be good in their results. Good is not the natural fruit of iniquity : a clean thing cannot come out of an unclean.

We were told by the opener that good *has* resulted ; but admitting that good has happened in Europe since the Crusades, it has yet to be proved that the Crusades have *caused* it. I must confess myself sceptical upon this point : and certainly, before I admit it, I must see it demonstrated. It is a very common error to mistake coincidence for causation ; and in my opinion that mistake is made when European civilisation is attributed to the Crusades.

If we look at the history of the Crusades themselves, and at the conduct of the Crusaders, we shall see how very unlikely it is that benefit should have resulted¹ from these enterprises. Cruelty, murderous ambition, profligacy, and all the other great crimes that stain the human character, seem to have been aroused by these Crusades : and I will simply ask whether these evil passions let loose in Europe were calculated to improve its morals, to elevate its intellect, to break its chains, or to promote its prosperity ? I appeal to the common sense of the meeting.

THIRD SPEAKER.—Sir, Granting (which I, for one, will not) that the origin and nature of the Crusades were evil, I really cannot understand upon what principle it is that the last speaker has come to the conclusion that *therefore* their results have been injurious. Why, Sir, it is one of the plainest, as well as one of the grandest, truths enforced by experience, that good invariably results from evil. I, for my part, am convinced that the results of the Crusades *must have been* beneficial, because I believe that “*whaterer is, is right* ;” or, in other words, because I believe that there is above us and over all creation, a mighty law which worketh all things well.

It would be easy to prove this even by the small and trifling events of human life ; but this I will not stop to do. One cannot contemplate, however, the mighty occurrences which we are to-night discussing, without pausing for an instant to observe and trace the operation of this grand and soul-cheering principle. I see a mass of human beings, kings, prelates, nobles, priests, and commoners, gathered from all parts of the most enlightened quarter of the globe, forming themselves into one mighty armament, for one single purpose. I see them forgetting their petty differences, discharging their bosoms of their long-harboured enmities, proclaiming themselves brothers and friends, and leaving their

homes, their comforts, and all that was near and dear to them, supported and nerved by one high and beautiful hope. I see them pressing on under a thousand perils, perils of the sword, of the pestilence, and of the elements, contending with want, famine, and fatigue, yet still borne up by their strong enthusiasm, still animated by their high and glorious hope. I see them arrive at the land of their expectations, grievously thinned in numbers, strangers and homeless; but still undauntedly clinging to their great purpose, and eager to commence their vast work. I see Christian chivalry and Saracen strength engaged in tremendous and continual conflict, and after varying success, relinquishing the struggle, wiser, greater, better, than when they commenced it. And it is impossible to look at the features of this great armament — its rise, progress, course and dispersion — without feeling that whatever may have been the evils attendant upon it, it awoke in the European breast a thousand great but slumbering principles, all directly and materially affecting the destiny and happiness of the human race.

The gentleman who preceded me spoke of the horrors of war. War is horrible, but here, as always, it was the cause of peace. The Crusaders found that war would not accomplish their object, and they themselves, the beginners of the war,

had actually to sue for its discontinuance ! Depend upon it, *that* moral sank deeply into the heart of Europe. Good *can* spring from evil, then ; nay *does*.

The conclusion to which I come, Sir, is this ; that whether the intention of the Crusaders was virtuous or evil, good *must* have resulted from their mighty enterprise.

FOURTH SPEAKER. — Sir, Without entering into the question whether the motives of the Crusaders were virtuous or vile, I am still of opinion that in a most important point of view, their great enterprises did injury to the European world.

The Crusaders, by their expeditions, boldly asserted the wicked principle, that Christianity is a religion to be propagated by the sword. Bear in mind that the heads of the Church were the chief instigators of these movements, and then ask yourselves what must have been the effect of this pernicious example on the mind of ignorant and superstitious Europe ? Can you not clearly trace to this the fierce persecutions of the Albigenses, the Jews, and Lollards in a subsequent age ? the dark horrors of the dreadful Inquisition ? the Smithfield burnings of Queen Mary and Bishop Bonner ? the armed fanaticism of the seventeenth century ? and the relentless, perse-

cutting bigotry so rife in the present day? It appears to me that were this the only reason one could urge against the Crusades, it would be sufficient to make us regard them as forming one of the most mournful eras in our history. Who can estimate the error, the wickedness, and the misery which have been caused by the promulgation of the awful doctrine that the sword is the best means to propagate the cross! The planting of that error has caused the world a vast harvest of wretchedness, which is not even yet all gathered.

FIFTH SPEAKER. — Sir, I cannot agree with the previous speaker at all.

He objects to the Crusades because their promoters propagated Christianity by the sword. But, Sir, he ought to have distinguished between the act and the motive. The act was evil, but the motive was good; and in such case it is the motive that operates, and not the act.

We have no grounds for denying that the motive of the Crusaders was a good one. You tell me of the pride, the ambition, the lust for glory, the fanaticism of the invading host. I grant it all; but I say, notwithstanding, that there were motives beyond and superior to these, which were in reality the cause of the enterprise. These other motives of which you speak were not sufficient to

account for it: so small a lever could never have performed so great a work. I look, therefore, for some higher and stronger exciting power than mere pride or ambition; and I think I find it. I think I see a lofty religious principle at work, a true and zealous desire to fight to the death for a holy faith. Doubtless it was an error to seek to promote the Gospel by means of war, but it was a sublime and splendid error. It showed enthusiasm and sincerity: and indeed was no great error after all. The Church on earth is militant; and a warlike character becomes it well. It has ever a great foe to fight—the prince of evil: and must combat before it can conquer. We, more civilised than the Crusaders, have better weapons than the sword; but the sword was the only weapon they possessed; and in their pure and holy cause they were not wrong to use it.

And as to the example, I maintain that it was a good and useful one: it told all Europe that evil was to be resisted to the last, and with the sharpest weapons: and whilst our friend who last spoke endeavoured to trace to the Crusades the fierce spirit of persecution and intolerance which since then has so often disgraced and degraded Europe, be it ours to trace to those great enterprises the firmness, the zeal, the heroic fearlessness, and the earnest unshakable determination which Europe has ever since that age ex-

hibited in defence of its holy religion. If the Crusades produced the bigots, they also produced the martyrs, of our history ; if they produced the persecutors, they also produced the defenders, of the Church : and if they asserted the error that the sword of steel is the instrument of the Gospel, they discovered the truth that the sword of steel is not so effective a weapon as the sword of the spirit.

SIXTH SPEAKER. — Sir, it appears to me that morality is being sacrificed to enthusiasm in this debate. The speakers are actually defending crime because the criminals were in earnest !

Now, Sir, to me it seems that nothing can justify error ; and therefore that if we prove the Crusades to be morally, politically, and religiously wrong, we do enough to demand a negative reply to the question under debate.

Well, then, were the Crusades *politically* called for ? No. There were no dangers hanging over Christendom at the time ; the Mahometans were not threatening us : there was nothing to apprehend from them.

Or were these enterprises *morally* justifiable ? What right had the West to attack the East ? There is not even a plea of moral right to reply to.

Or can the Crusades be defended on *religious*

grounds? Here they appear to fail the most. The Christian religion is essentially the religion of peace and preservation: and therefore an expedition of war and destruction must, of course, be condemned by it.

Thus, then, it appears that, tried by all our standards of right, these great armaments are found to be wicked and unjustifiable: and, as I said before, I cannot understand why truth should be sacrificed to enthusiasm. To me the Crusades seem wrong altogether, and I do not scruple to say so.

It may be said that the results justify the Crusades: but I think the results (even granting the argument) are misunderstood. As far as I can judge, I believe that these expeditions tended to perpetuate superstition, to brutalise Europe, and to retard civilisation.

They encouraged superstition, inasmuch as they increased and acknowledged the domination of the clergy: they brutalised Europe in so far as they made violence and bloodshed meritorious: and they retarded civilisation, by employing the mind of Europe upon physical conquest instead of upon mental advancement.

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SEVENTH SPEAKER.—Sir, I have often believed it very difficult to find a perfect standard of moral right, and now I see that such a dis-

covery is impossible. This conviction is, I own, due to the speech of the gentleman who has just addressed us.

The speaker has tested the morality of the twelfth century, Sir, by the wisdom of the nineteenth; and so has come to very unjust conclusions.

The only fair way to try the conduct of men, is to judge them by the light they have: and if we test the Crusaders by this standard, we shall find, as we always find in human conduct, truth and error, too.

The truth we find is this: a sincere, firm, and zealous belief that they were commissioned by duty to undertake their great enterprises, and to destroy the enemies of God. Say what you will, this was a noble feeling: and that it was sincere we cannot doubt when we read that even children were aroused by it to enlist and arm in the service of the Cross. The error of the Crusaders lay in this: that they mistook their weapons. The sword of the Gospel is a spiritual weapon: but they used a temporal one.

And yet one might defend the error without much rhetoric.

The Crusaders knew no better. They had not, as we have, the Holy Bible to judge by: their sole spiritual voice was the Church to which they belonged.

The Crusaders were sincere. Sincerity is in itself a virtue, even when attached to error.

Nay one might justify, as well as excuse. The foes of the Christians were Mussulmans. It is the creed of the Mussulman to extirpate all other religions by the sword: the Mussulman's sword had been employed against the Christian faith: the attack of the Christians, therefore, was self-defence.

By the philosophical politics and utilitarian morality of the present day I know that it is difficult to defend the fierce Crusades: but these politics and this morality are not universal standards of right and wrong. How would they justify martyrdom? How would they defend resistance to sovereign authority? It is not, Sir, because Paley and Bentham condemn that justice necessarily disproves.

That good resulted from the Crusades, even from their worst evils, I will not dare to doubt. The enthusiasm in error led to enthusiasm in truth. The slaughters in Palestine produced the martyrdoms in Smithfield. The mailed Crusade of Hermit-Peter led to the spiritual Crusade of Luther.

In the mere gathering together of these armaments, we see two important facts, which directly affect the history of the race. We see that Eu-

rope becomes dematerialised, and that Western civilisation and faith are carried to the East.

Europe had newly found its great faith: and in the contest for its principles had become embroiled in petty wars, which seemed endless. Brother was armed against brother, and friend against friend. There were European idols, too: gross, material, sensual, idols. But the great idea of the Crusades is at length put forth, and lo! European wars are suspended, and European idols are laid in the dust and forgotten! There is proclaimed a generous but incomplete principle — that war among Christians is fratricide; the truth is rung in the ears of the world; and that principle was the seed of the promised harvest of universal peace.

The West rises against the East: the growing light of civilisation goes forth to combat with the darkness of barbarism: and that epoch commenced a great struggle. It introduced European civilisation into the eastern world, and asserted the universality of the Christian faith.

EIGHTH SPEAKER. — Sir, Much as I admire the eloquence and earnestness of the previous speaker, I am not quite convinced of the truth of his arguments.

He contends that the fierce but mistaken zeal of the Crusaders, however wrong in its nature,

was in the end productive of religious good. I can scarcely see this. The ages immediately succeeding the era of the Crusades were remarkable for the bigoted, persecuting, and revengeful spirit they displayed. Not only were infidels subjected to the violence of this malignant rage, but the Albigenses, the Prussians, and the Jews were equally the objects of hate and vengeance. Nay, Christians of near creeds were persecuted with equal zeal. Crusades against erring believers were considered just as virtuous and necessary as Crusades against Saracens: and so violent and extravagant was this feeling, that even after the many fresh manifestations it has since made among us, it is not even yet exhausted. We still persecute for difference in creeds: nay even at this moment the Jew remains unemancipated!

And not merely was *religious* error disseminated; but *political* and *moral* error were extended, too. May we not safely say that the coalition of kings for the restitution of the Sepulchre has suggested those European alliances for civil purposes which have since been so notorious? And may we not further say that the military passion fostered by the Crusades has tended to encourage those vicious and sanguinary wars which have deluged not England alone, but all Europe, with Christian blood, and has nourished in the European breast the fiendish principles of hate and strife?

I will not detain you longer, Sir, but simply express my hope that this great question will only be decided by the principles of Justice and Philanthropy.

NINTH SPEAKER.—Sir, With much that the last speaker has said, I sympathise: and especially in his remarks upon religious intolerance and bigotry. They are a disgrace to the age in which we live, and every well-wisher to his species must wish them speedily abolished. I do not think, however, that we owe them to the Crusades, but rather to that unhappy principle of war and enmity which is deep-rooted in human nature, and which manifested itself long before the Crusades were conceived.

To me these enterprises appear to have done great service to mankind. To them we owe the origination of two great ideas—*Human Equality, and Chivalry.*

You were well informed by the opener of the debate that at the time of the Crusades, Europe was sunk in slavery. It seemed as though there were several *kinds* of men upon the earth, so separate and distinct was rank from rank. The iron hand of Despotism was then stronger than it had ever been before: the few held earth's good by fraud, force, and violence: and the many were grovelling in darkness, misery, and superstition.

But the Crusades seem to have put forth to all men the splendid doctrine of Human Equality, and to have struck the first blow dealt by the hand of Europe at Slavery. After this we see the gradual mingling of the different classes of society, the emancipation of the serf, and the slow but sure decline of all feudal and tyrannical power. The impetus to freedom must have been singularly strong: for it has since that time led us to emancipate *ourselves* from the thralldom of superstition, and our *African brothers* from the actual fetters of the body. We may even now see it breaking one by one the chains of slavery throughout the world.

The institution of Chivalry, which is clearly owing to the Crusades, has not yet been noticed: but it seems to me to be a very important feature in the subject. I hesitate not to say that the institution of Chivalry is the most striking political element in the civilisation of Europe. It promulgated the sentiments of honour, courtesy, and gallantry: it extended the virtues of disinterestedness and daring: and above all, it first recognised and gave effect to the power of Woman in the social scale. It emancipated her, and thereby assured the emancipation of the whole human race.

From that moment barbarism declined. The power of Woman was a cause of its downfall. She

directed man's arm to the defence of the weak: Chivalry became a protector: it redressed wrongs, and was thus the precursor of law and order. To it, consequently, we owe much civilisation, social comfort, and regular government. Equality and enlightenment were among its fruits: it awoke intelligence, and attached dignity to virtue. It seems to me scarcely possible to over-estimate the advantages we owe to Chivalry, and therefore to the Crusades, which were the cause of Chivalry.

To the Crusades we seem also to owe the establishment of towns, the foundation of England's naval supremacy (for they caused her to commence ship-building), the cessation of civil war, the introduction of Arabian learning, art, and architecture, the invigoration of the Western mind by the mutual intercourse of the Christian states, and the elevation of Europe by collision with the East.

OPENER (*in reply*).—Sir, The powerful arguments of my supporters have left me but little to offer in the way of reply. The question has been fairly and fully discussed, and will now hardly bear another speech. I was afraid at first that we were going to have but a narrow view of the matter, but I am happy to confess that the subject has been treated as comprehensively as I could have wished.

I must protest against the doctrine urged by some of the speakers, that we are to judge the results of the Crusades by the conduct of the Crusaders. Sir, the object and the effects of an act are things totally distinct; and require separate judgments: we have to look at the consequences, not the motives, of the Crusades.

Those consequences have been so amply and so eloquently traced, that I do not need to recapitulate them. In a very few words I will close the subject.

In addition to the sentiments and virtues originated in the remarkable era we have surveyed, there was another great principle set in motion to which I feel bound to refer. That principle was, *The essential unity of the human race.* The European mass and Asiatic mass met as deadly foes; but they parted with far other feelings. Both received benefits. The Western world learned generosity and endurance: the Eastern world gained civilisation, and glimpses of the true faith. They found that they were brethren: they discovered that there was a great moral law that stayed their hands—the law of human love. They found their interests one. They discovered the vast truth that there was but one family in the world, and that peace was that family's best happiness. They learnt, too, the sublime lesson that union is strength, and separation weakness.

I see therefore in the consequences of the Crusades a commingling of the whole race; a great step taken in the direction of amity and universal peace.

But I have yet another great influence to notice; perhaps the most important that the Crusades set in motion. I mean the *religious sentiment*. To the religious sentiment was then given an impulse greater and more enthusiastic than it ever before or since received. You call it Fanaticism: it is but another name for the same thing. Beneath its influence all Europe is roused: danger, difficulty, and death are braved: no expense of money or of blood is considered too great to be lavished on the enterprise. Sir, it is impossible to consider that so great an impulse could be given without producing corresponding fruits. And in the subsequent history of the world can we discover none of these effects? Is it saying too much to assert that when this religious frenzy had subsided, there was seen the real principle of truth that produced it: that when the torrent ceased, a stream, pure and holy, flowed? It is surely not speculating too far to say that the impulse given to the religious sentiment caused the world's mind to think, and the world's soul to start from its sleep. The result of this thought was the purification of our religion, and in due time that glorious Reformation to which we

owe all the liberty we possess. The religious sentiment has never been powerfully agitated without producing vast good: but in this instance its effects were as stupendous as its power was unparalleled. It developed in man the noblest sentiment of which he is capable, and put in motion the working causes of his ultimate and complete happiness. It first and most powerfully asserted, that there is but one faith, as well as but one family, and from that moment Christianity took a firm root in the earth.

In whatever aspect, then, we view this vast and truly sublime series of enterprises, we see great and lasting results of good. We see them amalgamating the various classes of men, destroying tyranny and asserting human right; we see them carrying Western light into Eastern darkness, triumphing over barbarity and force, and urging on the work of civilisation with resistless strength; we see them elevating Woman into her proper sphere, and so developing the true purifying spirit of the world; we see them teaching men to be brethren and friends, asserting the sublime truth that the earth holds but one family; and more than all, we see them proclaiming to the uttermost ends of the world, that there is only one GOD and FATHER of us all.

I will now leave the question in your hands, Sir, simply apologising, for detaining you so long.

See EDINBURGH REVIEW, vol. xxx. p. 323 et seq.

GIBBON'S DECLINE AND FALL, chap. lxi.

ROBERTSON'S PROGRESS OF SOCIETY IN EUROPE, sect. 1.

BRANDE'S DICTIONARY OF SCIENCE, LITERATURE, AND ART. Art. *Crusades*, and the authorities there referred to.

MONTHLY REVIEW, vol. li. p. 53.; vol. xl. p. 328.

QUARTERLY REVIEW, vol. li. pp. 311—313.; vol. lx. pp. 466—473.

JAMES'S HISTORY OF CHIVALRY.

MILL'S HISTORY OF THE CRUSADES.

QUESTION VII.

Is the character of Oliver Cromwell worthy of our admiration?

OPLER. — Sir, I propose the question which you have just read to us, because I am of opinion that the character of Oliver Cromwell is not yet fully understood by his countrymen; and because I am anxious to dispel, if possible, in my small sphere, the clouds of error which stand between our judgment and the truth.

I am firmly of opinion, Sir, that Oliver Cromwell was one of the greatest and best men that England, or the world, has ever produced; and I feel a strong confidence and belief that before we rise from this debate, we shall all be of one mind upon the subject.

As a Man, as a Leader, and as a Ruler, I think him equally entitled to our praise and admiration.

If I survey him as a *Man*, I find him irreproachable in every walk of life. As a son he was dutiful; as a husband he was true and affectionate; as a father, he was wise, vigilant, and

kind. His personal character was pure beyond the shadow of suspicion; and his social character was equally above the reach of blame. He was just and honourable to all men: he infringed no lawful rights, and exacted no undue obediences.

If I further regard him as a *Leader*, I find in him every thing to admire, and nothing to condemn. He was brave, far-seeing, quick in insight, immediate in action, bold and cautious, prudent and daring. He was just to those under his command, indulgent towards the meritorious, stern and inexorable towards the refractory. He was economical of the lives of his men, soldierlike in his demeanour, and earnest in the cause for which he fought. It would be difficult, I think, to find a general so endowed by nature with the capacity to lead; the strongest possible proof of which is found in the fact that he was never defeated, although opposed by the most unheard-of difficulties.

As a *Ruler*, he is perhaps more remarkable still. For sagacity, strong practical wisdom, promptness, firmness, fearlessness, and unsullied justice, I do not know his equal in history. I can safely challenge proof of one single act of injustice perpetrated during his Protectorate.

There is, however, a higher standard still by which he must be tried: and here will lie our struggle, I suppose, in this debate: I mean the

standard of that morality which a man owes to truth and to heaven: the morality which tries a man, not by his actions and qualities, but by his motives and by his heart. It is by this means alone that we can test and gauge the true character of Cromwell: that we can say whether he was a great bad man, or a man of pure character and honest heart. It has been the fashion, for these two centuries past, to say—indeed we are told in our school histories that Cromwell was “an ambitious hypocrite,” a “rebel,” a “usurper,” and the like: but men have at length begun to doubt all this, and to inquire, Is it so, or not?

It is with the view of clearing up this point, if possible, that I propose this question for debate. I do not mean to anticipate the charges against Cromwell, for they will doubtless be made by others. I simply say to those who are to follow me, that I hope they will look at this great question with earnest and honest minds; that I trust they will not judge Cromwell by childish morality; and that when they try his conduct they will consider the circumstances in which he was placed.

SECOND SPEAKER.—Sir, as I am one of those who refuse admiration to the character of Cromwell, I lose no time in presenting my remarks.

I at once admit Cromwell's great qualities;

denial of them would, indeed, be ridiculous. He could never have governed England as he did, had he not been possessed of a great and masterly mind.

But we have been truly told that we must judge Cromwell, not by his qualities, but by his motives. I mean to do so, Sir; and as we can only test a man's motives by his acts, it is by Cromwell's recorded deeds that I shall try him.

What are Cromwell's deeds, then? Unhappily we can make no mistake in recounting them. He excited treason against his Sovereign: helped to bring that Sovereign to an ignominious death: and usurped the seat of the dethroned monarch. Here we see rebellion, murder, and foul ambition: for surely we can safely predicate these motives from these deeds. Now, as I said before, there can be no fear of mistake about these facts: they stand black and frowning against him. He killed his king, and he usurped his throne: if this be worthy of admiration, I am strangely in error.

He *must* be wrong. Kings are inviolable, and should never, under any circumstances, be destroyed. Usurpation is always a crime, and can by no sophism be defended. And rebellion is always a wickedness, for we are, by Scripture, expressly commanded to submit to, and not resist, the civil ruler.

Into the charge of hypocrisy I enter not.

Cromwell may have been sincere, but sincerity does not justify crime. The motive must be good, before sincerity can be a virtue. Besides, the charges I have advanced are enough: and now I leave the debate to those who are more qualified to sustain its weight.

THIRD SPEAKER. — The last speaker has attributed three crimes to Cromwell: treason, murder, and guilty ambition: I wish to say a few words about the first.

We are told that Cromwell excited treason against the King. What is treason? Improper resistance to lawful power. But in the case before us, the power was *not* lawful, and therefore the resistance was not improper.

It is admitted, for it cannot be denied, that Charles the First was acting illegally when the rebellion first broke out. He was acting without a parliament, levying unconstitutional taxes, and exercising an arbitrary power quite inconsistent with the laws of the land. It was this, in fact, and this only, that caused the rebellion. Had the monarch been constitutional, the people would have been obedient.

The King, then, *placed himself* beyond the law, and his defenders cannot in justice complain when those who suffered from the King's unlawfulness, became unlawful too.

But rebellion is always a crime, says the last speaker. Of course it is: for rebellion is rising against lawful authority. But Cromwell's resistance was *not* rebellion; for it was not against lawful, but unlawful, authority that he rose.

The gentleman tells us, however, that we are to resist not at all. He must pardon me for saying that I can neither understand nor admit so silly a doctrine. Where the power is lawful and just, resistance is a crime: but where the power is tyrannical and wicked, submission is a greater crime.

Slavery and tyranny are abominable in the sight of the Most High, and the man who tamely submits to either, is unworthy of his name. Evil is to be resisted wherever it is found, and monarchs are no exception to the rule.

I think, Sir, that the charge of rebellion is now disposed of.

FOURTH SPEAKER.—Sir, I cannot listen to so outrageous a doctrine as that which has been just propounded, without expressing my decided and extreme abhorrence of such dangerous principles.

The theory of the right of rebellion, Sir, would, if carried out, be a licence to every man to continually debate, judge, and resist every exercise of authority to which he personally might object. And when we think of the great numbers of misguided,

discontented, and exasperated men who are always to be found in a community, we shall see at once that we should live in a condition of continual violence and disobedience were this liberty accorded.

A much safer principle to act upon is that which teaches us unqualified submission to authority. If the ruler go wrong, the fault is his, and he is responsible for his misgovernment to Heaven: the subject has no right to arraign, judge, and punish him, but 'ought to rest assured that Heaven will render justice to them both.

I will not deny that Charles the First exceeded his legal power: the fact is unhappily too plain. But this is not the question. We are judging Cromwell, not King Charles.

Was the rising lawful in itself, then? Where is the right, in law? Show it me, and I will be satisfied. Or was levying armies against the monarch lawful? The levying of forces is expressly made *unlawful* by statute. Or was the seizure and detention of King Charles a lawful deed? Seizure of the Sovereign is high treason by act of Parliament. Or was the execution of the King a lawful deed? By a wise fiction of our law, the King is held to be incapable of doing wrong: how then can he be lawfully punishable? This killing of the King is a point which I should like to see well discussed: though I cannot conceive of an argument, in its favour.

FIFTH SPEAKER.—Sir, whether resistance to lawfully constituted authority, when that authority is unduly exercised, is justifiable or not, is a point which I shall not attempt to debate. My own feelings incline me to non-resistance; partly because I find from history that such resistance is never in the end successful; but chiefly because I have a higher confidence in heavenly, than in human, power. If a sovereign under whom I lived were wicked and tyrannical, I should

- "Leave him to Heaven,-

And to the thorns that in his breast would lodge,
To prick and sting him:"—

knowing full well that he would surely reap his reward, and that justice would one day be done.

But the case before us is not that of a people rising against their sovereign, but of a sovereign arming himself against his people. The rising of Cromwell, for I select him as representing the movement, was simply a step of self-defence, and the King deliberately incurred the fate he met.

King Charles provoked war, and commenced it; he therefore voluntarily took its chances. When foes meet in battle, the command, *Thou shalt not kill*, is suspended, especially as regards the party that fights in self-defence: and the friends of a man who is slain in a fight which his wilfulness alone has originated, can have no

reason to say that his destroyer could plead no right to kill him.

We must bear in mind that the contest between Charles and his people was not a mere political strife, but a struggle of actual life or death. The victor's only chance of existence lay in the destruction of the vanquished.

It will now be seen, I think, that the case before us is not that of a monarch slain by his subjects, but of a soldier falling in a battle he himself provoked.

SIXTH SPEAKER.—Sir, I give my friend who has just spoken great credit for his ingenuity, but I beg to assure him that it will not avail with the thoughtful portion, at least, of his auditory.

The position of King Charles was not that of a soldier slain in fight, but of a prisoner taken in the field: and even admitting that the monarch voluntarily incurred the chances of war, was it not the height of crime, as well as the extreme of cruelty, in his captors, to destroy him? And will not this of itself be sufficient to demand our condemnation and abhorrence of Cromwell's conduct and character?

Why did not Cromwell preserve, instead of destroying, King Charles? There was no need to kill him.* The unfortunate monarch was too weak to be a cause of fear: he was humbled and

defeated : there was therefore nothing further to apprehend from him, and his destruction was a deliberate and wilful piece of cruelty and murder.

This charge of atrocious cruelty, then, I make against Cromwell ; and say that upon this ground alone, I must deny him my admiration. I like his bold and daring character, I respect his clearness and comprehensiveness of mind, and I own the benefits resulting to England from his sway : but his cruelty proves to me a lack of principle in his heart, and leads me to believe that it proceeded from his guilty ambition, which saw that when once the obstacle of the King was removed, he should have a better chance of rising to the supreme authority.

The cruelty of Cromwell, then, and his ambition, are in my opinion clearly proved, and for these reasons I shall vote against him.

SEVENTH SPEAKER.—Sir, The arguments of the last speaker will, if fairly looked at, weigh, not against Cromwell, but against himself. *His* logic will actually support *his opponents'* conclusions.

The gentleman has admitted that the King was a prisoner of war, and then has asked us, Why should he have been destroyed ? Now this, be it observed, makes the matter of the King's destruction simply one of *policy*. The honourable

gentleman himself has done this, not I; for, says he, *What need* was there to kill the King? implying that if need could be shown, the act would be justifiable.

Now the need *can* be shown. It is all very well for the King's defenders to say that he was weak and therefore harmless; that he was defeated and therefore powerless. There can be no doubt that Charles was blind and obstinate in his resistance to his people, and that he meant to relinquish his wicked struggle only with his life. Imprisonment, you will please to notice, had been already tried without success: plots to escape, and recommence the civil war, were continually afoot. Had the King been suffered to remain alive, his person would have been a centre round which his partisans would have never ceased to rally: and the unnatural struggle would have been continued until one or other of the contending parties were exterminated.

It is, as a great writer says, "a stern business to kill a king;" but if a king, deaf to all remonstrance, and heedless of right and justice, obstinately throws away his kingship, and snatches at absolute tyranny instead: he is no longer an inviolable king, but a criminal, amenable to the laws of the state and of eternal justice: and must be dealt with as a criminal alone.

EIGHTH SPEAKER.— Sir, The reason which moves me to refuse my admiration to the character of Cromwell, is the inordinate ambition which I find in it.

More clear evidence of ambition I cannot conceive than I find in the career of Cromwell.

Nothing seems ever to have satisfied him: he aims higher than the highest. We see him first assuming the captaincy of a troop of horse; then aspiring to the command of a regiment; then getting the appointment of Captain General of the Eastern Provinces; then gaining the post of Lieutenant General of the whole army: then becoming Lord General of the Kingdom's forces: then dictating to, and with lawless power controlling, coercing, dissolving, and at his own pleasure reconstructing, the Parliament: then made Lord Protector of the realm: and lastly encouraging men to offer him the crown. I see in this a crafty, bold, and insatiable ambition; without a parallel (save perhaps the single case of Napoleon) in history.

He sets his single will against the other authority and law, too; of which we have many signal and striking proofs.

We see it 'n his illegal dissolution of the Long Parliament; in his impatient haste to accelerate the dissolution of the parliaments which he himself formed; in his fierce and determined mastery in

council and in the field. He controlled all the powers in the realm: the judges on the bench, the ministers of state, the commanders of both the land and sea forces, the legislative assemblies, and the physical power of the nation—the army.

What absolute selfishness, ambition, and tyranny we may see in all this! What unheard-of vain-glory, self-esteem, and presumption! I cannot admire such a character at all.

NINTH SPEAKER. — Sir, It often strangely happens that the facts adduced by one disputant are found, upon examination, to support the cause of his adversary: I venture to say that in the address of the last speaker we have a fresh and striking instance of this truth.

He charges Cromwell with ambition; and proves his point by simply exhibiting his successes and elevations! Sir, I can give you a far better theory. Cromwell's superior advancements are owing solely to his merit. I defy any proof of ambition at all.

For more than forty years Cromwell had led a retired country life: had never aspired to any dignity or office whatever: and think you that a man whose hot youth is past begins to dream of elevation as he goes *down* the hill of life? Preposterous! Cromwell never solicited—never desired temporal dignities: his heart was set on far

higher honours: he was perfectly content to remain and die an honest, pious, country farmer. But when wrong was perpetrated on himself and his countrymen; when their rights were invaded, and their very liberty of conscience threatened: he rose like a valiant man, and made fight in its defence. He raised his troop of horse; his extraordinary merits were perceived; and he gradually rose from post to post until he naturally reached the highest. He never solicited one of them: but refused many. Show me a better man displaced for him: show me a single instance of the employment of craft or influence to bring about his elevation, and I will admit his ambition without a scruple; but as it is, I boldly and utterly deny it. The best proof of the folly of the charge is that he refused the kingship when it was offered him. Very little like ambition that! In fact, I can safely challenge all proof of it.

TENTH SPEAKER. — There is one part of Cromwell's character which has not yet in my opinion received sufficient consideration: I mean his character as a ruler.

Sir, To Cromwell's enlightened and firm rule, we owe in some measure almost all the political blessings we possess. He was the patron of our arts and literature, the protector of our commerce, and the zealous purifier of our laws. He first

demanding and maintained British supremacy upon the seas: he humbled our enemies: he extended our sway: he restored our finances: and he signally improved our social and moral character. To him we owe that unconquerable spirit of liberty which has since always animated the British mind: and to him we owe also that religious freedom, that right to worship as we will, which we now so happily possess. The very meanest subject was sure of justice during his administration; all vice was steadfastly put down by him.

The last speaker has denied that Cromwell was ambitious: but one ambition he *did* exhibit—the ambition of making England the mistress of the world. As to personal aggrandisement, no such thought was ever his: he sacrificed property, labour, and we almost say life, for the commonwealth: but to extend the renown and secure the happiness of his country, was an aim that he not only encouraged, but achieved.

Cromwell has been called a usurper: by what argument he can be proved one, I should like to know. To usurp is to seize without claim or right: Cromwell did nothing of the sort. His offices were forced upon him: not one of them did he solicit.

He became the chief magistrate solely by the voice of the people. Cromwell was too wise a man to desire the empty dignities of power and

place: he accepted the chief office in the nation because, conscious of his own mental power, he knew that he could guide the state through its difficulties. Where was the hand in England that could have done as his did? The best proof of his right is his power. A man more fit to govern men never existed, and I feel that if ever there were to come a time when the statues of our rulers were to be erected in testimony of a nation's gratitude, I should give to Cromwell's the very highest place of honour.

I believe, Sir, that Cromwell was a man of giant powers and energies: that he acted honestly and greatly according to his heart's convictions: that he was pure in his morality, and sincere in his religion: and with this conviction, I feel an admiration for him which I can accord to but two or three great names in history, besides.

ELEVENTH SPEAKER. — Sir, when the defenders of Cromwell speak of his great intellect and energies, they assert a truth in which all must agree; but when they maintain that his morality was pure, and that his religion was sincere, they make an assertion which I certainly hesitate to admit.

That Cromwell's moral character (at least in early life) was questionable there is every reason to suppose. He was a member of one of the

Inns of Court: but appears to have neglected his studies for licentious pursuits: a supposition supported by the fact that when writing in after life of his early years, he asserts his "exceeding sinfulness," and his "wicked courses."

And as to his religion, I believe him to have been a hypocrite. When, in conjunction with his awful slaughters, I find him speaking the name and quoting the words of the Most High; bringing the Gospel of peace to justify the horrors of war; I can come to no other conclusion than that his religion was one of word, and not of deed. Whatever he did, he had a text of Scripture to justify it by. His whole life seems to me a life of pretence and cant. Had his religion been purer, he would have been more peaceable; but his violent, contentious, and self-willed career seems sufficient to prove that although he had the name of religion ever on his tongue, he had not the spirit of it in his heart.

The charges I bring against him, are, then, that he was immoral and hypocritical, and unless these can be dispelled, his character is stained beyond redemption.

TWELFTH SPEAKER.—I am very glad, Sir, that the gentleman who has last addressed you has so specifically charged the character of Cromwell with immorality and hypocrisy; for of all

the charges ever made against him these are the most easily disproved. —

First as to the immorality. Where is the proof of it? “He was a member of one of the Inns of Court,” says our friend, “and neglected his studies for dissipation.” This is the common story and belief, I know; but, Sir, *it is absolutely without foundation*. Recent researches* have proved that Cromwell’s name is not to be found in any of the Inn-books at all. He never belonged to the law in his life.

But, says our friend, he himself admits his immorality: he speaks expressly of his own “wickedness” and “depravity.” Doubtless Cromwell does say this: and yet he may have lived a perfectly moral life for all that. St. Paul calls himself “the chief of sinners,” and yet says he “kept the law blameless.” Sir, both the apostle and the illustrious subject of our criticism speak of that inner depravity of nature which pertains to all men, and which is quite consistent with a life outwardly correct. They both knew that in heart and thought they were (as all men are) great sinners before God, and they were humble enough to confess it. So much for this magnificent charge of immorality.

And now for the other matter: Cromwell’s

* See Cromwell’s Letters and Speeches: by Carlyle.

hypocrisy. I should like to know, Sir, by what right men assert this charge? A man's religion is a thing between him and his Maker, and no other man can see and determine its truth or falsehood. Who elevated our friend into the judgment-seat? Who gave him the right and capacity to judge? And what was the ground upon which he accused Cromwell of hypocrisy? Listen, gentlemen, listen: *because he was always referring to Scripture!* Did you ever hear a charge so unwisely made? or so miserably supported?

Cromwell a hypocrite, Sir! No, I will believe most things sooner than that. Look at his life. For sixty years he lived devoutly before God and man; no man ever accused him of injustice, impiety or irreligion; and yet we are told that he was a hypocrite! Does his daily household prayer look like hypocrisy? Does his devout preaching to his troops look like hypocrisy? Does the selection and formation of that pious regiment of Ironsides look like hypocrisy? Does his thorough reformation of the manners of his army, and of the nation, look like hypocrisy? Does his tearful praying before battle look like hypocrisy? Does his constant ascription of all power and glory and success to God, instead of to himself, look like hypocrisy? Does his thorough knowledge of Scripture truth, or his strict enforcement of re-

ligious duty, look like hypocrisy? Does that splendid exclamation of his when at the rising of the sun he saw his wicked foes before him — “Let God arise and let his enemies be scattered” — does *that* look like hypocrisy?

If ever there were a really practical, earnest, and religious man on earth, we see him here in Cromwell: and yet the honourable gentleman would try to persuade us that all this was show, and that at heart this Cromwell was a hypocrite! I spurn the miserable theory, Sir, with the contempt it merits!

THIRTEENTH SPEAKER.—Sir, Neither the indignation, nor the eloquence, of the speaker who has just addressed us, shall, if I know it, mislead my judgment on this matter: I am yet unconvinced that Cromwell's is a character to be admired, and I am about to venture a few words upon that side of the question.

If I wanted proof of Cromwell's wickedness of character, I should find it in the misery and retribution of his later life. Whence all that timid fear of assassination? Whence that concealment of armour and fire-arms beneath his clothes? Whence that inward restlessness and misery, but from a troubled and wretched conscience? If he had done nothing but right, what had he to fear? Virtue is always brave, whilst wickedness is

always timorous. To me these signs are conclusive.

A part of Cromwell's career which is very indicative of his character seems to have escaped observation: I allude to his conduct in Scotland and Ireland. His craft in Scotland, and his cruelty in Ireland, are matters which his judges would do well to consider. To me this craft appears duplicity, and this cruelty the direst and most thoughtless carnage. These things stamp the man at once: and prove all that has been asserted of his duplicity and cruelty. But enough has been said upon the subject, and I will now resume my seat.

OPENER (*in reply*).—Sir, My reply will not be very long, for I have not much to answer. Cromwell's character has been criticised both by his deeds and his presumed motives. His rising against the King; his conduct towards the monarch; his acceptance of the supreme power; and his slaughter of the nation's enemies; have all been condemned: but why? Simply because they have been tested by the rules of ordinary morality; whilst they ought to have been tried by a far wider standard. I can very well believe, Sir, that there are no parchment laws which warrant a man in resisting a tyrant, or in condemning him to death; I can perfectly under-

stand that there are no written enactments which permit a man to destroy the enemies of God: and I can readily imagine that there are no acts of Parliament in favour of country gentlemen becoming Lord-protectors: but for all that, I am quite disposed to conceive that there are a good many laws in Heaven's chancery which have never received the Royal assent, and are quite unknown to Blackstone. There are circumstances beyond the scope of human laws; and they must be tried by quite other principles. Such are the circumstances now before us.

To get at a fair judgment of Cromwell's character we must throw ourselves into Cromwell's situation. We must transport ourselves into an age of fierceness, sternness, and war: we must imagine ourselves the victims of tyranny and oppression: we must conceive of a time when religion was not a thing put on with Sunday clothing, but a matter by which men lived, and for which they would fight and die; we must see the bigotry and power on the one side, and the fanaticism of outraged conscience on the other: and above all things we must place ourselves in the centre of a period when in the minds of the injured there arose a stern determination to deliver themselves from the despotism of irreligion that threatened them, or perish in the attempt.

Then let us conceive a giant-souled, earnest,

honest-hearted, God-fearing, man, of silent ways and deep thoughts, cast into this chaos: and if we do this, we shall then see Cromwell and the circumstances which surrounded him, and be able to form a judgment of his character.

To me, who have diligently sought to do this, there is no particle of doubt upon the matter. I see in Cromwell a man who, after long thought and prayer, has made up his mind that religion is his only duty and business: and that he will perform that duty, and prosecute that business, against all gainsayers, low and high. I see him cherishing this determination, and performing it in quiet daily life; prepared to do so even till his death. The active world calls him, however: and, prompt at the voice of duty, he obeys the call, and carries his religious principle into his public conduct. He tries all by this one test: and whatever he finds wanting in the balance, is condemned and exposed without favour or pity. He takes his stand upon the Word of God; and though the Prince of Evil himself oppose, he cares not, but continues his course. Prating senators, misled covenanters, unjust kings, and unscriptural prelates, are alike his enemies, for they are the enemies of truth and heaven. He uses towards them no half-measures: sincere and terrible in his deep enthusiasm he opposes right to might, and slays them as the foes of God. He

is then called on by all men to rule : strong in the strength of heaven, he undertakes the charge ; and in the same strength, performs it. Men press him to accept the kingship : he, wiser than they, refuses the empty name, and remains Protector. As Protector he rules England in the fear of God—yes, this nation was once actually governed by the principles of religion : the Bible was once our only book of Law !—he discards all vice, profanity, and injustice ; and encourages truth, devoutness, and morality. Lastly, he dies as he had lived, full of truth and fervour ; in lively communion with his Heavenly Father.

Here then we see a man ; a man whose faith in God was not a vision, but a fact : and who dared all things for the truth ; even death itself : a man earnest and real as nature : a man fit to be a pattern, a king, a hero, among men ! And are we to be told, Sir, that we must not admire him ? Are we to be insulted by a reference to the law books of Westminster Hall and St. Stephen's Chapel, and told that we cannot find his defence written there ? Let the pedants and pharisees of the world assert such folly if they will : I for one will laugh them to scorn, with their law books, too : and I will tell them, in reply, that although no parchment may celebrate the name, and no effigy exhibit the features, of this man, his glory shall live bright and pure in the memory of the

world, down to the remotest generations of mankind.

See CROMWELL'S LETTERS AND SPEECHES. By Carlyle.

LARDNER'S CABINET CYCLOPÆDIA.

SOUTHEY'S STATESMEN OF THE COMMON-WEALTH.

'SOUTHEY'S LIFE OF CROMWELL.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, vol. xlviii. p. 133 et seq.

MACAULAY'S CRITICAL ESSAYS, vol. i. pp. 178—188.

D'AUBIGNE'S PROTECTOR.

MACAULAY'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

FORSTER'S LIFE OF CROMWELL.

QUESTION VIII.

Which was the greater Poet—Shakspeare or Milton?

OPENER. — Sir, It will be readily admitted that nothing conduces more to give the mind clearness and distinctness of thought, than the practice of criticism; and therefore it will be acknowledged that I have proposed a question for debate which is calculated to afford useful and healthy mental exercise.

We are to judge between two poets; between the two greatest poets (as I believe) that ever lived. We are to say which is the greater poet of the two. By greater I mean *altogether larger-souled*. I do not wish to know which is the greater in any particular quality, but in the sum and total of their qualities. The question will now, I think, be clearly understood.

I wish to guard against one error: the error of judging the poet as the man. It is between the works, and not between the lives, of these two writers that I wish for a comparison: to their works alone, then, let us refer.

My own opinion runs in favour of Shakspeare's

superiority. I will not deny that Milton may have soared *higher* than Shakspeare, but Shakspeare's, if not so lofty, is a *more extended* flight. Milton's genius has a tendency to concentration : Shakspeare's to diffusion. Milton flies perpendicularly, Shakspeare horizontally. The question becomes, therefore, Which flight was the better, more useful, and more admirable of the two ?

As I said before, I give the palm to Shakspeare. I think that his vision is, keener and truer and quicker than Milton's. Both are Poets of Humanity ; both address themselves to universal feelings and passions ; but Shakspeare seems to have known the human heart better, and to have addressed it more effectually, than Milton did. This appears to arise from the fact that Shakspeare's vision was direct, and perfectly clear : whilst Milton's vision had to pass through the medium of his imagination. Milton rose aloft from the crowd of men, and looked down upon them as through a microscope ; Shakspeare mingled *with* men and saw them face to face. Milton therefore may have seen erroneously ; whilst Shakspeare's vision must have been absolutely true. He who sees through a microscope may perchance have a false or distorted lens before him, whilst he who uses the naked eye is liable to no such danger. Thus it was that Milton's vision of the world was

less true than Shakspeare's : Shakspeare saw clearly and without a medium : Milton saw through his imagination : and therefore less directly and less distinctly.

I have argued from fact to theory : now let me return from theory to fact. Take the idea of the world and of life which you get from Milton, and take the idea of the world and of life which you gather from Shakspeare. Place them side by side : what do you see ? Milton makes Earth a grand colossal universe of thought ; and Man a great, theological, metaphysical, moral THINKER and DEBATER : Shakspeare makes the earth a world full of busy, active, practical life ; and Man a restless DOER ; working, feeling, hoping, despairing ; replete with energy, intelligence, and passion. In a word, man is with Milton an imaginary being ; with Shakspeare a real one. Milton gives us man as he would have made him : Shakspeare portrays him as he *is*.

This is all I wish to say upon this subject for the present.

SECOND SPEAKER. — Sir, I regard Milton as the greater Poet of the two.

I do so because I think that in the quality of Imagination he is decidedly superior : and Imagination is, in my opinion, the highest quality a Poet can display.

The great poem of *Paradise Lost* is the instance I select in proof.

The very conception of this extraordinary work is sufficient to stamp Milton as the first of Poets.

“To vindicate eternal Providence,
And justify the ways of God to man”—

was an idea that only the highest style of mind could have conceived. And the execution of the idea is as wonderful as the conception of it. Eden, Earth, Hell, and Heaven, are in turns presented to us, and described with a vividness, distinctness, and force which we look for in vain in any other writer.

It is said that Milton was incorrect in his description of human life and character: but surely the critics who say so must have forgotten the masterly and touching delineation which he has given us of our First Parents in Paradise. Anything more purely beautiful I cannot conceive. The untainted souls of the new-created pair: their innocent delight in the new scene spread before them: their deep mutual love, the love of young, unworn, unexhausted hearts: the freshness, quiet sweetness, and unclouded loveliness of Eden: form the most surpassingly beautiful and delightful picture that poetry ever conceived. I know not where, save in Holy Writ, the tired spirit of man may find such soothing

rest and consolation as in the Paradise of Milton. The contrast of its deep unruffled peace with the storms of life, gives to this portion of the poem a charm which no other work that I know of, possesses.

The imagination that produced this work is second to none on earth.

THIRD SPEAKER. — Sir, I am not disposed to deny that Imagination is the highest quality a Poet can possess: although perhaps it would not be difficult to argue with success that the power of describing the Actual is quite as great as the power of describing the Possible or Imagined. But I *am* disposed to deny that Milton possesses this quality more eminently than Shakspeare.

Milton has imagined Paradise: Shakspeare has imagined Fairy-land. Milton has imagined Satan: Shakspeare has imagined Ariel and the Weird Sisters. The supernatural is, indeed, common ground to both: and each treads it with equal propriety. Milton's power herein has been noticed: now let us glance at Shakspeare's. Consider, then, the exquisite chasteness and perfect keeping of Shakspeare's supernatural pictures; whether of Oberon and Fairy-land, or Hecate and Witchland.

Whether it be the *Fairy*

“Hanging a pearl in every cowslip's ear,” —
or whether it be *Puck* —

“ Who'll put a girdle round about the earth
In forty minutes : ” —

or *Titania* —

“ Upon the beached margin of the sea,
Dancing her ringlets to the whistling wind : ” —

or the *Witches*, who

“ Hover through the fog and filthy air : ” —

or the *Ghost*,

“ Whose grim portentous figure
Walks armed through the night : ” —

all these conceptions are as masterly and true as the mind of poet ever conceived : and place Shakspeare at once in the very highest rank as an imaginative writer.

And whilst Shakspeare's imagination is as high as Milton's, it is much wider. His

“ Poet's eye in a fine frenzy rolling,
Glances from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven ; ”

and embraces the whole universe. I hold, therefore, that Shakspeare's imagination is at least equal, and possibly superior, to Milton's.

FOURTH SPEAKER. — Sir, It is said that Milton's imaginative power, if as great, is not so grasping and universal, as Shakspeare's : I do not admit this : for granting that his creative power is but rarely applied to Shakspeare's great domain, the human heart, it, on the other hand, ascends

to other subjects, which even Shakspeare never reached. "Winged with his angelic power, Milton swept through the realms of time and space; veiled his face before the throne of God, or stood in the council of Pandemonium: floated in chaos, or walked with Adam in Paradise." I say again, Shakspeare never rose so high as this.

But the opener truly told us that we were not to judge by one quality alone: let us look at some of the other distinguishing characteristics, then, of these two great writers. Milton's exquisite style and fine power of description ought not to be forgotten: here, I think, he more than rivals Shakspeare. Mark the beauty of this:—

"Now morn, her rosy steps in the eastern clime
Advancing, sowed the earth with orient pearl."

Equally fine is his description of Adam:—

"His fair large front and eye sublime, declared
Absolute rule; and hyacinthine locks
Round from his parted forelock manly hung
Clustering."

Nor let us pass without notice Milton's power over the feelings. In *Paradise Lost* there are touches of pathos never surpassed. I would instance particularly Eve's penitent reply to Adam's upbraidings, when she —

—— "with tears that ceased not flowing,
And tresses all disorder'd, at his feet
Fell humble; and embracing them, besought
His peace."

Mark also Satan's attempt to address the legions of Hell : —

“Thrice he assay'd, and thrice, in spite of scorn,
Tears such as angels weep, burst forth : at last
Words, interwove with sighs, found out their way.”

Comment upon this fine passage would be superfluous, and I shall say no more.

FIFTH SPEAKER.—I am of opinion that in the chief poetical quality, Imagination, the two poets before us are equally great. Milton has risen higher than Shakspeare : Shakspeare has flown wider than Milton. Milton could well have been more universal : Shakspeare could not with perfect ease have been loftier.

But as to the other qualities which constitute a poet, I think that Shakspeare was decidedly the more highly gifted. The last speaker has instanced the descriptive power and the pathos of Milton : but it seems to me that in both these faculties, Shakspeare is the greater of the two.

There is nothing in Milton to compare for a moment with the living beauty of that line spoken by Lorenzo : —

“How sweet the moonlight sleeps upon this bank.”

This is, in my opinion, the most perfect picture ever presented in words. In Shakspeare's Works, as Hazlitt says, there is “such force and distinct-

ness of description, that a word, an epithet, paints a whole scene, or throws us back whole years in the history of the person represented."

And as to pathos, I think that our friend was exceedingly unwise to challenge the comparison. I grant the great beauty of the instances presented to us: but I find greater beauty by far in the pathos of Shakspeare. I point to *Lear's* recognition of *Cordelia* in his madness, with her reply: to *Macduff's* grief at the slaughter of his children: to *Ophelia's* pathetic lamentations for her father, and her death; to the wild agony of the bereaved *Constance*; to the simple remonstrances of *Desdemona* on her death-bed: to *Antony's* burst of passionate grief over the body of *Cæsar*: and to *Othello's* intense and heart-broken misery when he is made to believe that his wife is false to him. Any one of these instances is to my mind quite sufficient to establish the superiority of the pathos of Shakspeare over that of Milton.

SIXTH SPEAKER. — Sir, A very important test by which this question may be fairly tried has not yet been alluded to; and by your permission I will here set it up: I mean the moral effect these writers have produced upon the world. This will be a fair gauge of their respective powers; for effects are always the measures of their causes.

Now it seems to me that Shakspeare has done more service to humanity than any other writer ever born into the world. Through the whole natural and mental universe his spirit has ranged: and whatever it has touched it has illuminated. He has shown

“Virtue her own feature, and Scorn her own image:”

he has reached “Imagination’s airy height;” sounded the lowest depths of Passion, trodden every path of life, and acquainted us with every kind of human experience. There seems not a thought, not a pang, not a pleasure, not a sentiment, not a truth connected with humanity that Shakspeare has not felt and spoken. He has illuminated for us the whole Past: he “has turned the globe round, and surveyed the generations of men and the individuals as they passed, with their different concerns, passions, follies, vices, actions, and motives;” he has left us pictures of undying beauty, to elevate, refine, and refresh us; he has handed down to us a nobler monument of wisdom than is to be found in the works of all our philosophers; and he has erected for us a code of truth and morals which surpasses all that the world’s statesmen have ever given us.

How can we calculate the effect of such a soul upon the world! None but a spirit similarly gifted could hope to show how, through its subtle

agency, the mysterious sympathies of man have been secretly and indissolubly linked to the whole universe of life: could hope to follow the high thoughts it has created through their purifying and regenerating mission: or to estimate the life-giving influences of those radiations from the eternal star of beauty which it has conducted from the heavens to the earth. The mind instinctively shrinks from full inquiry: for it feels that only infinity can answer it.

SEVENTH SPEAKER.—I think Milton is a greater poet than Shakspeare because his *aim* is higher. In Shakspeare we see the divine spirit of Poetry circling the whole *human* world, and identifying itself with every possible combination of human circumstance, of human joy, of human woe; in Milton we see it spread its godlike wings and soar into the world of Spirits, connecting the Human with the *Divine*, and revealing to the eye of man, infernal terrors, and celestial joys.

In Shakspeare the Supernatural is employed upon the affairs of our *mortal* nature, and has "its be-all and its end-all," *here*. Thus in Macbeth it is evoked to inflame, and then to torture, Ambition: in Hamlet to spur Irresolution: in Richard to terrify Guilt. Shakspeare never, or so rarely as to warrant the word never, uses it to awaken our sense of Immortality, or to arouse us to the awful

realities of the world to come. The Christian reader must ever mourn that our great national poet should have neglected to string his harp in the service of Religion. Religion, indeed (excepting mere natural religion), Shakspeare seems hardly to have known. But Milton, with a high, solemn, and almost prophetic, earnestness, makes the great subject of our Immortality his constant theme. Creation, Paradise, Heaven, and Hell, Man's Fall, Salvation and Destiny: these are his mighty subjects: and he treats them with a grandeur, indeed an awfulness, befitting their sublimity. Never, I think, has the human soul risen so majestically as in Milton.

I look upon the theme of "Paradise Lost" as the most magnificent, thrilling, and important on which the mind of man can speculate. It is the commencement and first act of that tremendous and tragic battle between good and evil, which has been going on in all time, through all creation: which we every one of us feel to be waging in our souls; and which is of all the sublime and awful questions that can engage us, the most necessary for us to solve. For what can compare with it? On it hangs life or death; torture or rapture; hell or heaven. It comes home to us all, and must be answered for us all and by us all: in some way or other. Bid it into the distance we *cannot*, we *dare* not: its piercing voice keeps up its cry

until it gets an answer. Happy are they who find the right reply !

/ Shakspeare, then, is the poet of our Human Life ; and Milton the poet of our Immortal Destiny : and because I think that our Divine is superior to our Human part, I hold that Milton is the greater poet of the two.

EIGHTH SPEAKER.—Sir, I would be the last to deny that the Immortal must at all times infinitely transcend the Perishable : in that truth I fully concur with the last speaker : but I cannot agree with him when he says that Shakspeare is the poet only of our Human life.

Shakspeare, Sir, is the poet of Truth : and truth being immortal, he is therefore the poet of Immortality. There is no writer who refers more constantly to the Eternal rules and laws of God than Shakspeare : he recognises them, and acts by them. He tries conduct, not by circumstance, but by perennial morality ; and considers life only as affected by the world beyond the grave.

Macbeth affects to “jump the life to come,” but is ever held in fear of the hell he merits. Wolsey is made to say to Cromwell—

“ Let all the ends thou aimst at be thy country's,
Thy God's, and Truth's.”

Hamlet is made to bear the ills of life by—

—— “ the dread of something after death,
That undiscover'd country, from whose bourn
No traveller returns.”

The sense of Immortality is continually appealed to by Shakspeare; by no writer more so. Constance, even in her frenzy, is led to say that—

“ When she meets her pretty child in Heaven,
She shall not know him.”

King John is appalled by the fear of the doom that the awful Day of Judgment will award him: indeed instances of this kind are too numerous and well known to need further quotation.

It is regretted that Shakspeare says nothing about Religion. Sir, it is perfectly true that our great poet was no *theologian*: but theology is not religion after all. He takes no trouble about creeds: but it is easy enough to see that a more really religious mind never existed.

We have seen his religion in his *Faith* already: Immortality with him was a conviction strong as life itself: we may also see it in his fervent *Hope*, his Belief in Goodness, and in Truth: we see it lastly in his surpassing *Charity*: not the mere charity of almsgiving, but the true charity of heart, which “endureth all things and hopeth all things:” the charity that taught him to say—

“ Forbear to judge, for we are sinners all:”

the charity that led him in a day of prejudice

and unkindness to defend the cause of the oppressed Jew!

No, never let it be said that Shakspeare had no religion. He was no sectarian, I know: very likely he was charitable even towards heathenism; but for all that he was an humble and devout child of God.

NINTH SPEAKER. — Sir, Without entering into the controversy respecting the theological excellence of the two poets before us, I wish just to say one or two words upon the question.

There seems at times a greater *force* in Milton than in Shakspeare; a greater intellectual strength. Who can forget

“The shout that tore hell’s concave?”—

or Satan’s form as it

“Lay floating many a rood?”—

or the fallen angels

“Hurled headlong flaming from the ethereal sky?”

Perhaps a better proof still of Milton’s force of description is to be found in his account of the Prince of the Fallen when he calls him

“Hell’s dread commander; who above the rest,
In shape and gesture proudly eminent,
Stood like a tower.”

“Paradise Lost” has often been censured for

its want of human interest. The subject should centre, it has been remarked, in our First Parents : whilst by the author it is made to centre in Satan. Now to me it seems that the course the poet has taken is the only natural and proper one. Milton's design, as we have been very correctly told, was to mark the entrance of the principle of Evil into the world, and its early progress in the soul of man : the career of Satan is therefore the centre round which the whole interest revolves.

And never was there a greater creation than this of Milton's Satan. The proud, defiant, all-daring, all-enduring, for-ever-fallen archangel, dauntlessly braving the darts of heaven, and yet eternally burning with the inner fire of self-reproach, and the piercing consciousness of happiness for ever lost ; is the sublimest spectacle the soul of man has yet conceived.

What are Shakspeare's Witches, his Ariel, his Hamlet, to this ? I will not stay to make a comparison, for the objects compare themselves, and themselves give the verdict.

TENTH SPEAKER.— Sir, None of the debaters have yet spoken of Shakspeare as a moralist : a character in which he is pre-ëminent ; and which I believe is not attempted to be fixed on Milton. It has been well said that in the writings of Shakspeare “ there is more moral wisdom to be

found than is embodied in all the ethical productions of our country put together." Let us take a few examples: here is one:

"Sweet are the uses of Adversity;
Which like a toad, ugly and venomous,
Wears yet a precious jewel in his head."

Again: —

"Not the king's crown, nor the deputed sword,
The marshal's truncheon, nor the judge's robe,
Becomes them with one half so good a grace
As mercy does."

Again: —

"O, it is excellent
To have a giant's strength; but it is tyrannous
To use it like a giant?"

What magnificent and deep philosophy there is in this:

'We are such stuff
As dreams are made of; and our little life
Is rounded with a sleep!"

Here is a moral for kings: —

"For within the hollow crown
That rounds the mortal temples of a king,
Keeps Death his court; and there the antic sits,
Scoffing his state and grinning at his pomp;
Allowing him a breath, a little scene,
To monarchize, be feared, and kill with looks,—
Infusing him with vain and self conceit,—
As if this flesh that walls about our life

Were brass impregnable; and humour'd thus,
Comes at the last, and with a little pin
Bores through his castle wall, and—farewell king!"

One may find some good in *this* too:

"Glory is like a circle in the water,
Which never ceaseth to enlarge itself,
Till by broad spreading, it disperse to nought."

But I fear I weary you: the maxims of Shakspeare are now proverbs, and need not be repeated by me.

ELEVENTH SPEAKER. — Sir, Shakspeare was a great moralist, certainly: but, in my opinion, Milton is very little, if at all, inferior to him in this respect.

Morality proceeds from love of virtue, and confidence in goodness. Hear Milton thereupon:

"Virtue may be assail'd, but never hurt,
Surprised by unjust force, but not enthrall'd;
Yea, even that, which mischief meant most harm,
Shall in the happy trial prove most glory:
But evil on itself shall back recoil,
And mix no more with goodness; when at last,
Gather'd like scum, and settled to itself,
It shall be in eternal restless change
Self-fed, and self-consumed; if this fail
The pillar'd firmament is rottenness,
And earth's base built on stubble."

Again; hear the Spirit in Comus:

"Mortals that would follow me,
Love Virtue; she alone is free.

She can teach ye how to climb
 Higher than the sphery chime;
 Or if Virtue feeble were
 Heaven itself would stoop to her!"

How exquisite is his reference to

"The virtuous mind that ever walks attended
 By a strong-siding champion, Conscience!"

Milton as a moralist stands, I think, extremely high. He is utterly free from prejudice: abjures all bigotry, dogmatism, servility, and mental slavery. A more thoroughly independent mind never existed. Consequently his morality is never tinged with the pride of the Pharisee. He loves virtue for its own sake, and makes no boast of it. He may not perhaps have written so large a code of morality as Shakspeare has produced, but it is quite as pure, and quite as practically useful.

That character of Satan has been of wonderful service to us: it has taught us the virtue of *endurance*: and had Milton done no more than this, he would be deserving of the highest honour as a moralist.

TWELFTH SPEAKER.—Sir, I am not quite so sure as the last gentleman who spoke seems to be, that the character of Satan is likely to affect us morally or beneficially.

What is it? A fallen angel defying the Al-

mighty, and in his *own* strength enduring and scorning the Almighty's punishments. We hear him say that 'tis

“Better to reign in hell than serve in heaven.”

We are told by him that into hell

“————— he brings

A mind not to be changed by place or time :

The mind is its own place, and in itself

Can make a heaven of hell, a hell of heaven.”

I really doubt the morality of this. The picture seems to me likely to do at least as much harm as good. I will suppose a man far gone in vice brooding over these sentiments. What would be the result? Why that he like Satan would say —

“Then farewell hope, and with hope, farewell fear!

Farewell remorse! all good to me is lost :

Evil! be thou my good!”

He, too, would “disdain submission;” and in his despair “defy the Omnipotent.” The Satan of Milton, the Prometheus of Shelley, and the Cain of Byron, all seem to me to be alike immoral and dangerous pictures to present. They are all represented as unconquered by the Almighty, though fallen; and this leads the mind to think that Evil is too strong for God, and can safely defy him: a very dangerous doctrine to teach.

The morality of Milton always appears to me

(even the best of it) to be of a vague controversial character: he puts forth declamatory arguments instead of practical maxims: and tries to *describe* Truth instead of *showing* her. In a word, Milton's is the morality of Intellect: whilst Shakspeare's is the morality of the Heart.

Choosing between these two, Sir, I incline to Shakspeare: his morality is indisputable, whilst Milton's, however pure, is always open to controversy.

THIRTEENTH SPEAKER. — Sir, Although I do not think Milton so great a Poet as Shakspeare, I yet think a word or two may be said for him as respects the moral influence of his character of Satan.

We have been told that it is a demoralising and dangerous representation: that we are prone to be fascinated by it; and that when we see the Arch-Fiend braving and heroically enduring the vengeance of the Almighty, we feel a sympathy, which may probably become an admiration, for him: and may lead us to imitate his fierce and dauntless bravery.

But it seems to me that our sympathy fastens, not on what is evil, but on what is good. It is not the bold and daring defiance of the Almighty, but the uncontrollable power of mind, that we admire; the energy which makes soul superior to

circumstance; and as a great writer says, "Many a man has borrowed new strength from the force, constancy, and dauntless courage of evil agents." Besides, the horrors of Hell must counterbalance its pleasures even in the mind of the most abandoned calculator.

Milton's mastery over the *art* of Poetry has not yet been noticed: his magnificent blank verse;—his "linked sweetness long drawn out;"—his vigorous and polished style; and his lofty mode of thought. All these are qualities which he exhibits very remarkably, and should be taken into account when the comparison is made.

OPENER (*in reply*).—Sir, The propositions which I submitted to you in opening this debate have been proved, rather than refuted, by my opponents: so I have not much now to say.

As far as regards the *art*, the mere mechanism of Poetry, Milton may have been superior to Shakspeare: Shakspeare was not at all a mechanist, and never could be. Still, even upon this point it must be borne in mind that Milton is very much indebted to his *learning*, whilst Shakspeare

"Warbles his native wood-notes—wild."

Take away Milton's learning, and then you will find that, even as an artist, he is not so great as Shakspeare.

B^{ut}, after all, it is in the essential qualities of Poetry, that the poet's greatness lies : and these, therefore, are the only proper tests.

The conclusion to which this debate leads me, is unquestionably, that Shakspeare possesses these qualities more eminently than his rival.

In imagination I hold that he is at least equal ; in passion, he is far superior ; in perception, he is immensely more quick and intelligent ; in sympathy, he is infinitely greater : in intellect, he is more intuitive and clear : in ideality, he is undoubtedly more serene and vivid : and in the aggregate of mind he is more united, harmonious, and complete. To use the words of Dryden, he "is the man of the largest, truest, and most comprehensive soul yet born into the world."

See JEFFREY'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE EDINBURGH
REVIEW, vol. ii. pp. 315—332.

MACAULAY'S CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL ES-
SAYS, vol. i. pp. 1—32.

KNIGHT'S SHAKSPEARE ; A BIOGRAPHY.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, vol. xii. p. 59.

CHANNING'S ESSAY ON MILTON.

HAZLITT ON SHAKSPEARE.

QUESTION IX.

*Which has done the greater service to mankind —
the Printing Press, or the Steam Engine?*

FIRST SPEAKER.—Sir, It is much to be feared that as we sail along the great and ever-widening ocean of civilisation, we forget the streams and sources which have helped to form it. It is but rarely that we look back and endeavour to estimate the influences which have made us what we are.

Deeply impressed with this truth, I have determined to-night to direct attention to the debt which we owe to two of the greatest causes of our mental, moral, and physical improvement, the *Printing Press* and the *Steam Engine*. These seem to me to be the most important inventions ever made by man, and to inquire into their value will doubtless lead us to extend the great advantages which they confer upon mankind. I wish to know to which of these inventions we are the more indebted? and the best way to open the question will be to recount the benefits they have respectively bestowed upon the human race. ~

First, then; what has the Printing Press done

for man? The completest answer one can give to that question is, that it has extended knowledge. The consequences of this diffusion of knowledge have been both great and good. The consequences have been good inasmuch as they have imparted to us,—I. Information respecting our physical frame, which teaches us how to preserve our health and lengthen our life: II. Intellectual information, which enables us to distinguish between falsehood and truth, to profit by the example of the past, and to guide ourselves by the wisdom of experience and philosophy: and III. Moral information: which shows us good and evil, teaches us the beauty of virtue, and the value of religion.

And now: what is the nature and extent of our debt to the Steam Engine? It seems, at the first glance, that we chiefly owe to it the extension and improvement of *Physical* good. It has cheapened clothing, food, and fuel: it has strengthened our houses, and lowered the cost of building: it has opened, drained, and worked new mines, which without it never could have seen the light: it has enabled us to travel on land, at a rate of swiftness well nigh incredible, with no greater fatigue than if we were sitting in our parlours; it has enabled us to traverse the sea at all times and in all weathers, in defiance of wind, tide, and tempest: it has relieved human labour in every department of personal fatigue: it has introduced us to all

parts of the world: has extended commerce: has promoted the mutual interchange of produce and manufacture: and it has made man practically acquainted with all the varieties of the human race.

But the benefits we owe to the Steam Engine do not stop here. We get intellectual and moral as well as physical, good, from it.

By freeing manual labour it develops mental intelligence. It gives men time to think and study. Formerly the great personal fatigue men underwent in the course of their daily labour, not only prostrated, but absolutely weakened, their minds. This excessive toil led them further to desire stimulants to sustain them; and thus it mostly happened that they who spent their days at the loom spent their evenings at the ale-house.

The Steam Engine has helped to *give* the information, too, which it left people leisure to *desire*. It has made them acquainted with facts in every department of knowledge, and has enabled them to see, and judge for themselves.

I said, further, that the Steam Engine had extended *moral* good: this will now be felt evident: for by acquainting us with facts it leads us towards truth; and truth in science will soon produce truth in morals. I will now leave the comparison between the value of the respective benefits of these two Great Inventions to the meeting.

SECOND SPEAKER.—Sir, When the opener of this debate said that the benefit resulting from the Printing Press consisted in *the extension of knowledge*, he gave us perhaps the best reason that can be imagined why we should vote for that invention rather than for the Steam Engine.

Look at the state of this country *before* the discovery of the art of printing, and then at it a century *afterwards* (when its value had become appreciated); and then you will see at a glance what it accomplished for us.

England, prior to the time of Caxton, was sunk in the grossest mental and moral darkness that one can well conceive on this side of barbarism. Arts and sciences there were none; even the simplest rudiments of education were unknown to the common people, nay even to the nobles: and the monks and priests monopolised every particle of information. The foulest licentiousness, the most intolerable tyranny, the wickedest cruelty, and the most detestable fraud and violence, existed in the land. Murder was continually perpetrated in the open street: no man's house or life was safe: the worst principles of our nature were in active and deadly exercise. We must add to this lamentable state of things, the fact that all orders of men were plunged deep in superstition: that they were led like idiot slaves by their spiritual masters: and that religion, save

in its penances and extortions, was quite a sealed and hopeless mystery to them. There was no order, no peace, no morality : but Crime and Ignorance, like two hideous monsters, ruled gloatingly over the chaos."

But as the sublime command of the Most High penetrated the original chaos of the universe, so did the printed word of knowledge penetrate the chaos we have just surveyed. It said, "LET THERE BE LIGHT, AND THERE WAS LIGHT:" and when this Light came, men *saw*.

"Vice is a monster of such frightful mien,
That to be hated needs but to be *seen*."

The Printing Press showed this monster to men, and so led them, through abhorrence, to avoid it. It taught them, also, the infamy of slavery : slavery of every sort, bodily, mental, and intellectual. There is something essentially *free* in knowledge : something that always indisposes the mind of its possessor to irrational restraint : and this may be proved by the instance before us. No sooner did knowledge come, than freedom came. In the reign of Henry the Seventh, Caxton printed : in the reign of Henry the Eighth, personal slavery was for ever abolished in Britain. But it was not the mere body that was freed : the mind and soul were unshackled also. Great intellects arose, and liberated men from mental

darkness. More than this: Luther came, and effected his reformation of our spiritual creed. Then followed Spenser, Shakspeare, Burleigh, Bacon, and Milton, all of whom were the production of the impetus given to genius by the Printing Press.

I think I have said enough to prove that the Press must claim our verdict.

THIRD SPEAKER.—Sir, The last speaker seems to have quite forgotten that there are two sides to the question before us: he has descanted with much fluency upon the benefits we have derived from the Press, but he has not said a single word about the Steam Engine.

He points us to the change that the Printing Press wrought at the end of a hundred years: well! *I* can point to an equally amazing change effected by the other invention now under consideration, a change wrought, mark you! not at the end of a century, but at the end of less than a *quarter* of a century!

I say then that the people of twenty-five years ago were as far behind the people of to-day in knowledge and in freedom, as the people before the time of Caxton were behind the people who lived a century after his decease. Take any well-educated young man of twenty years of age, and compare him with a man of equal capacity who was

considered well-educated twenty years ago, and you will find my point proved by the answer to the first question you put to them. If your question be in history, the reply of the man educated twenty years ago (if he give you a reply at all) will be the assertion of some fallacy exploded since he was taught. If your question be in science, in chemistry, natural philosophy, mechanics, or physiology, it is a thousand chances to one whether you get an answer from him. For this reason: that when he went to school, he learned reading, writing, and arithmetic, and that was all. True, he had an occasional dip into Murray's Grammar, and once now and then acquired a page or two of Goldsmith's History of England, as a task: but there was no learning in that. Now, however, a boy is taught at almost any school you can send him to, not merely the common rudiments of education, but geography, history, chemistry, mathematics: in a word, all the useful, and many of the exact sciences. Add to this, the immense amount of knowledge resulting from the vast circulation of cheap books, peculiar to our time, and then you will be able to form some idea of the immense increase of intellectual knowledge which has taken place within the last twenty years.

That the Steam Engine has done this must, I think, be plain. It has corrected history, because it has enabled men to visit the scenes of history,

and to reject from its pages things that were physically impossible : it has promoted science, because it has in a thousand ways laid the book of nature open to the eye of men ; and it has extended information, because it has multiplied the copies of wise men's works.

I think that the honourable gentleman who spoke last will now see that the silent contempt with which he treated the Steam Engine was not wise.

FOURTH SPEAKER.—Sir, I readily admit that the Steam Engine has been of signal service to humanity ; but we ought not to forget that the Printing Press was the real originator of many of the benefits apparently conferred by Steam. Nay, does not the Steam Engine itself owe its existence to the Press ? Had it not been for the knowledge disseminated by the art of printing, the Steam Engine would in all probability have remained unknown.

Above all things, we must not forget that to the Press we owe the printing and dissemination of the only true moral law we have, the **HOLY BIBLE**. This divine Book is the true source of our civilisation, after all ; and through it alone has come that freedom of mind and body which has been so well described on this occasion. Our improved condition, our superior knowledge, and our

increased morality, are due, we cannot doubt, to the wise teachings of the sacred Book ; and, but for the Printing Press, this precious Volume would have remained in the hands of the clergy ; to be communicated possibly through a false medium, presenting to us as much error as truth.

I feel that this one argument alone is sufficient to prove the superior advantages which have resulted to, the world from the Press as compared with the Steam Engine, and I will not weaken my cause by adding feebler reasons after one so powerful.

FIFTH SPEAKER.—Sir, I will not attempt to deny that the Printing Press has conferred an incalculable advantage upon the human species by the promulgation of the Scriptures. But when we come to think upon the matter, we perceive that the greater part of this benefit is actually owing to the Steam Engine ! The Press prints the Bibles, but the Steam Engine distributes them : nay, it is actually the Steam Engine that prints them ! It carries numberless copies to distant lands ; and here, by its application to the Press, it so multiplies those copies, that where there used to be but one Bible, there are now a thousand. Formerly, the cost of paper and printing was so high, that only the rich could afford to purchase the Scriptures ; now, no poor man, not

even the poorest, need be without them. It is to Steam that we owe this. Steam makes the paper, Steam prints the book, Steam circulates the copies. Were you to reckon up the number of Bibles printed by hand, and the number printed by Steam, you would see that where the Press has produced tens, the Steam Engine has produced thousands, of Bibles. However great, therefore, the merit may be that is due to the Press for originally giving us the Sacred Book, a greater praise is due to the Steam Engine for multiplying and circulating it.

Consider, too, how the Press is enabled through the Steam Engine to inform man daily of what is passing in the world. Before the application of Steam, our daily papers were no more to compare with the Journals of the present time, than a spark can be compared with a blazing fire. But now Steam collects information daily in every quarter of the world, daily prints the news it brings, and daily carries away again into every quarter of the world the information it has gathered and recorded. I shall vote for the Steam Engine without the least hesitation.

SIXTH SPEAKER.—Sir, it seems to me that an originator is always more meritorious than an improver; and the present comparison appears to prove this most particularly.

The Printing Press, it is admitted, first gave us knowledge: now the highest merit of the Steam Engine seems to be that it has carried what the other has made! To argue that the Steam Engine is the greater, because it has distributed what the Press has printed, is just like saying, that the porter who carries a book is greater than the author who wrote it! Surely the original discoverer of America is greater than the captains who now sail thither; and surely the originator of any great invention is greater than its mere accelerator.

Suppose the Printing Press had never been invented, where would Steam have been then? Or suppose the Steam Engine had existed without the Printing Press, what good could it have done us? Would it have given us cheap Bibles, correct histories, good education, and all the other great advantages that we are told we owe to it? No! it would have improved us physically, but it would have left us just as mentally and morally dark as we were.

To me, just as the one Book seems the source of all morality, books in general seem the source of all knowledge and wisdom. Long before the Steam Engine was dreamt of, books were civilising and moralising and Christianising man; and long after it is replaced by other inventions, the Press will continue to improve and exalt us.

I will not offer any further arguments, Sir, upon

this subject; but I think I have thrown out some suggestions which will not prove altogether unworthy of consideration.

SEVENTH SPEAKER.—Sir, A great writer* has said “that there is nothing more wonderful than a book.” “In books,” he continues, “lies the soul of the whole past time. All that mankind has done, thought, or seen: it is lying, as in magic preservation, in the pages of books.” And it is this truth, doubtless, that has led so many of the speakers on this question to accord so great a value to the Printing Press, the producer of books.

But surely that which will take us to the *sources* of knowledge must be greater and more beneficial to us than the mere second-hand *record* of knowledge! Which is the wiser man? he who knows from actual observation, or he who knows from reading? Which man, for instance, knows France better? he who goes there and sees it, or he who reads about it in a book?

The Press was called by the last speaker “the source of knowledge.” It is not so; it is the source of *second-hand* knowledge. The Press simply leads us to other men’s views of knowledge, and fails to give us actual, experimental knowledge for ourselves. But the Steam Engine enables us to go to the sources of knowledge direct. By the

* Thomas Carlyle.

rapidity of its movements, it carries us from place to place in scarcely more time than it formerly took us to read about them; and we now can see for ourselves what we were once obliged to take upon credit.

The result thus obtained for us by the Steam Engine must be eminently serviceable to truth and morality. From books, however clearly written, we do not get exact ideas: the Greece we fancy in reading about it, is quite different from the actual Greece when we see it. Travelling corrects the errors we form in reading, and thus clears the mind of false impressions, and fills it with true ones.

Books of History, Geography, and Travels, which once were implicitly relied on, are now found to be full of misstatements and mistakes. Errors of topography, soil, climate, and produce, have been discovered and rectified. Doubted assertions have been either verified or totally disproved; and thus truth has been established and extended.

One cannot forbear the reflection, that if the Printing Press has promulgated much truth, it has also circulated much error. It has been employed to record and publish falsehood, atheism, blasphemy, sophistry, infidelity, and vice of every kind and shape. It is true that we owe to it our knowledge of the Bible and of Shakspeare; but we also owe to it the "Age of Reason" and Voltaire.

If, then, we sum up the good and evil of the Press, and compare the total with the unmixed value of the benefits we derive from the Steam Engine, we shall, I think, be led to decide unhesitatingly in favour of the latter.

EIGHTH SPEAKER. — Sir, Our friend who has just spoken has referred to the evil (as well as good) that the Press has generated. Now the Steam Engine seems to me to do some evil, too. It has destroyed, from its imperfections, numerous human lives, the lives of those who have either tended to it or travelled by it: and thus society has been injured by the loss of its members.

Further, it has superseded manual labour, and has thus thrown men out of employment. It has supplanted all kinds of industry, and therefore has deprived millions of the comforts they once used to earn. This will go far to explain, I think, the awful distress that exists amongst our manufacturing population at the present time. Human labour is now so cheap that the best wages will hardly support a man with any degree of decency or comfort.

It is said that the press generates error: but at any rate the Steam Engine does as much harm by circulating it. If the defenders of the Steam Engine claim the good which the Press does, because it helps to print and distribute it, they must

hold themselves liable to be charged with the evil too.

NINTH SPEAKER. — Sir, The Steam Engine is charged with destroying human lives, and also with supplanting human labour: let me say a word or two with reference to both these arguments.

First, as to destroying human life: it is quite true that on our Railways and in our Mines and Steam Packets, great loss of life often occurs: but the Steam Engine is at least less chargeable in this respect than the contrivances it has superseded. The old Stage Coaches, the old Machines for draining mines, and the old Sailing Vessels, were the causes of far more fatal and frequent accidents, than the Steam Engine causes. It is capable of the clearest proof that the loss of life (and let me add, of property) is infinitely smaller since Steam has been used as a working power, than it was under any former system of conveyance; pedestrianism included. We read of accidents, it is true; but they are few and far between: whilst coaches, carts, waggons, and horses, were 'formerly for ever doing mischief.' A man, in fact, may now travel three hundred miles along a Railway with less personal risk than he encounters if he walks a mile. Besides, the Steam Engine is capable of being brought to

absolute perfection : every accident leads to some new improvement which will prevent a recurrence of the same sort of accident in future. Now the old Stage-Coach and Sailing-Vessel system had reached its perfection, and in the nature of things could be no better than it was. This charge, therefore, fails.

Besides, the Printing Press is chargeable with a much greater evil : it often destroys that which is more precious than life by far, I mean *reputation* and *character*. The gross libels, the evil slanders, the wicked falsehoods to which the Press has given birth, prove that it is capable of the very worst effects. Many a man has been so falsely condemned and atrociously maligned by it, that he has thereby been driven to despair, to madness, and to self-destruction. Wherein is the loss of life by a Steam Engine worse than this?

And now let me say a word or two respecting the second charge that the last speaker made against the Steam Engine, namely, that it has supplanted human labour. Sir, I deny the fact. The Steam Engine provides more labour than it supplants. It diverts labour from old channels, it is true ; but it opens new channels, both larger and better. The making of Railways, Engines, Carriages, Telegraphs, Rails, Steam Vessels, and Roads, requires an amount of human labour far

exceeding all that the Steam Engine could possibly supplant. Moreover, by putting us into near communication with countries which once were hopelessly distant, the demand for our manufactures is increased; and it is supposed by those best able to judge, that more men are now required to *superintend* our manufactures than were formerly employed in *producing* them.

So much, then for these mighty evils!

TENTH SPEAKER.—Sir, In the Steam Engine I see the greatest civilizer (Christianity of course excepted) that has yet been introduced into the world.

It is the greatest actual *power* yet known; and is employed in such an infinite variety of ways—minute and stupendous, that it is impossible to say what may not hereafter be done by its agency. There is no department of production, manufacture, or personal comfort, which it has not extended and improved.

It is a *moraliser* in many ways; but chiefly, I think, in this: it brings the various members of the human family into contact and relationship. By its agency we go to lands hitherto almost unknown: we find there ignorant and barbarous savages: we associate with them: we teach them: we civilise them: we take them our Bible: we tell them of our Holy Father in Heaven; and at

length we find in the ignorant savage a brother and a friend.

The facilities for travelling which the Steam Engine affords induce men to emigrate to other countries; and thus the world is becoming more equally covered. Countries over-crowded are relieved, and countries uninhabited are populated. Civilisation is thus carried into savage lands, barbarism is supplanted, heathenism destroyed, and peace, comfort, morality, and religion are led into the remotest regions of the world.

ELEVENTH SPEAKER.—Sir, In spite of all that has been said, I still believe that the Press does more for us than the Steam Engine.

Doubtless a man can now go more easily into foreign climes than he used to do: but as the majority of men cannot be travellers, the book which records the description of other countries must certainly be more generally useful than the machine which enables a man to go to those countries. For every man that can go to another country, a thousand men can only have an opportunity to read about it: the book, therefore, does good to thousands, whilst the voyage only does good to individuals.

It is quite true that the Press publishes error, and not a little of it: but the evil causes the cure. Attention is drawn to the error put forth;

thought is roused, the falsehood is detected, and never can appear again.

When I call to mind the mighty service that the Printing Press performed at the time of its invention in extending religious knowledge, defying bigotry, and bringing about our glorious Reformation, I feel that our debt to it is incalculable, and must not be forgotten when another claimant of merit appears. Excuse me if I quote the language of an eminent man who lived at the time of the invention; I mean JOHN FOX. Speaking of the art of Printing, he says—"Here-
 " by tongues are known, knowledge groweth,
 " judgment increaseth, books are dispersed, the
 " Scripture is seen, the doctors are read, stories
 " are opened, times compared, truth discerned,
 " falsehood detected, and with finger pointed out,
 " and all (as I said) through the benefit of Print-
 " ing. Wherefore, I suppose that either the Pope
 " must abolish Printing, or he must seek a new
 " world to reign over: for else, as the world stand-
 " eth, *Printing doubtless will abolish him.* But the
 " Pope and all his college of Cardinals must this
 " understand, that through the light of Printing,
 " the world beginneth now to have eyes to see,
 " and heads to judge. He cannot walk so invis-
 " ble in a net, but he will be spied. And although
 " through might he stopped the mouth of John
 " Huss before, and of Jeromè, that they might not
 " preach, thinking to make his kingdom sure: yet,

“instead of John Huss and others, God hath
 “opened the Press to preach, whose voice the
 “Pope is never able to stop, with all the power
 “of his triple crown. By this Printing, as by
 “the gift of tongues, the doctrine of the Gospel
 “soundeth to all nations and countries under
 “heaven; and what God revealeth to one man, is
 “dispersed to many; and what is known in one
 “nation is opened to all.”

These fine thoughts, from one of the ancients, may not perhaps be thought unworthy of the attention of us moderns.

OPENER (*in reply*).—The conclusion to which we seem to come is that Printing *originated* many of the great elements of modern intellectual and moral cultivation, and that the Steam Engine has diffused and extended them. It seems invidious to judge between the two; and it appears ungrateful to choose the last, and pass the first: but yet, I think, we must do so.

Where the Press alone has benefited one, the Steam Engine is shown to have benefited multitudes. The Press, too, only benefits the mind (at least *directly*): the Steam Engine benefits the mind and body too.

The Press, again, has existed for some centuries, and its full powers are known: the Steam Engine, on the other hand, is but just invented, and doubtless will be carried to a perfection we can scarcely

dream of. Its usefulness is universal: there is nothing to which it cannot be applied. The gentleman who spoke last referred to the remarks of an ancient writer in favour of the Printing Press: let me cite the remarks of an equally great modern writer* in favour of the Steam Engine.

“It has become,” he says, “a thing stupendous, alike for its force and its flexibility; for the prodigious power which it can exert, and the ease, and precision, and ductility with which it can be varied, distributed, and applied. The trunk of an elephant, that can pick up a pin, or rend an oak, is as nothing to it. It can engrave a seal, and crush obdurate masses of metal before it; draw out, without breaking, a thread as fine as a gossamer, and lift up a ship of war like a bauble in the air. It can embroider muslin, and forge anchors; cut steel into ribbons, and impel loaded vessels against the fury of the winds and waves.”

I will now leave the question in your hands.

See LORD JEFFREY'S *ESSAYS*, vol. iv. p. 551.

HUME'S *ESSAY ON "THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS"*, vol. i. p. 9.

SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH'S *WORKS*, vol. iii. pp. 59. 245, 246. 539.

SYDNEY TAYLOR'S *WORKS*, p. 122.

BECKMAN'S *HISTORY OF INVENTIONS*.

* Lord Jeffrey.

QUESTION X.

Which does the most to make the Orator, Knowledge, Nature, or Art?

OPENER. — Sir, Oratory has done so much for the cause of human progress and enlightenment, and the masters of Oratory have always been held so high in the world, that the question which I have had the honour to propose cannot fail to be both interesting and instructive to us.

I seek to know whether the Orator owes his power and success to his Knowledge, to his Natural genius, or to his study of the Art of speech? Decision upon this point will clearly be of use to us; for, as we decide, so we shall act.

I am of opinion that the Orator owes most to Nature. I think the gift of speech is as much a talent as the gift of music or any other talent with which a man is born. Experience is the ground on which I build my belief. How often do you see a man who knows a subject thoroughly, and yet cannot say five consecutive words upon it: whilst, on the other hand, how frequently do you find that a man, only slightly versed in the same topic, will make you a striking speech upon

it, full of wit, grace, and eloquence! That the power of speech is a gift of Nature, is proverbial: and, in my opinion, justly so; for observation continually shows us that even in early youth, when knowledge is scanty, the faculty is often strikingly developed; whilst in the maturity or manly age, when knowledge is full, and (as far as earth can make it so) complete, the faculty is frequently altogether absent.

And as to Art: How very common and numerous are the instances where, after instructing a young man in elocution, till he has practised as long (and almost as painfully) as Demosthenes, he stammers and stutters so dreadfully if he have a sentence or two to say, that you feel quite a pain and pity for him; whilst, on the contrary, you continually find that men who have never been taught the Art of Speech at all, become accomplished and striking Orators!

These instances seem to me quite sufficient to prove that Oratory is a natural, and not an acquired power.

SECOND SPEAKER.—Our friend who has opened this debate, has spoken so very slightly of the *Art* of speech, that I feel (although the humblest champion of the cause) obliged to venture a word or two in its defence.

In my opinion it is Art to which the Orator is

mainly indebted for his success. I take as an instance of the value of Art, the case of Demosthenes. This great Orator, the greatest that the world has ever seen, was originally so vile a speaker, that his audiences hissed him from their presence. Now he had genius, for a greater mind never existed: and Knowledge, for he had been instructed by the wisest philosophers: but being deficient in Art, he was so graceless and unpleasant that men would not listen to him. When however he devoted himself to the study of the Art, he conquered his defects, and won not merely contemporary applause (which is the total meed of most orators), but the applause and admiration of the whole world until now. The next greatest Orator we know of, Cicero, is another example of the truth of my argument. His devotion to the Art is so well known as to need no evidence in proof: the compilation of his great work *De Oratore* is evidence enough, at all events. And how wonderful was his success! Other instances as striking, if not so illustrious, might be cited without end, were it necessary: but these will suffice. They will suffice to show you that as oratory is most successful when the Art of oratory is most cultivated, it must be to Art that the success is mainly owing.

THIRD SPEAKER. — Sir, I am of opinion that

it is neither to Nature nor to Art that the success of an Orator is owing, but to Knowledge. Were the object of oratory to astonish and dazzle the hearer with fine figures of rhetoric, and graceful streams or overpowering torrents of thought, then I might accord the palm to *Genius*. Or were the object of human speech to delight the ear with mellifluous cadences, and charm the eye with pleasing action and expression, then I should say that the power of oratory is in *Art*. But these are not the ends which oratory has in view : they are only the means. The sole proper object of all oratory is truth, persuasion, conviction. He therefore who is master of his subject, who has the most thorough *Knowledge* of it, must be the best, because the most effective, speaker, after all.

Take three different men ; a man of plain practical Knowledge, a man of lofty Genius, and a man of consummate Art ; and give them a subject to debate. You will find, that whilst the man of Genius thrills and delights you with his eloquence, whilst the man of Art enchants you with his elegance of action and delivery, the man of Knowledge is the one who in the end convinces you.

Genius without Knowledge is dazzling, but useless ; — Art without Knowledge is empty and vain ; but Knowledge, without either Art or Genius, can still be of service to truth, and still acquire respect from all men.

How often does it happen that in a debate speakers of great genius and power declaim in vain, whilst a stammering, hesitating, awkward man of fact convinces in a moment ! It is quite true that Genius sometimes triumphs over Knowledge, and makes the worse appear the better reason ; but the triumph is short-lived : the fallacy is soon exposed, and Genius is laughed at or despised : but Knowledge oftener triumphs over Genius, and always, in the nature of things, keeps its ground.

These, Sir, are my views upon this subject.

FOURTH SPEAKER.—Sir, I really cannot understand how the gentleman who spoke before the last speaker can fancy that Art is superior to Nature in Oratory. Why what is Art? Simply *the copy of nature*. What is great, effective, elegant, striking, and graceful in natural speech has been formed into a code by observant men, and this is the derivation of the art of Oratory ! Now surely the original must be greater than the imitation ! Surely the Genius must be greater than the Art ! Look to the rules of the Art themselves, and you will find the admission there. For what is the first maxim of the Elocution Teacher ? “ *Be natural ;* ” “ *Study nature ;* ” “ *Be in earnest.* ” What is this but a direct admission that Nature is the great Orator, after all, and that Genius is greater than Art, and is its model ?

Oratory is the clear and forcible expression of thought ; and as the capacity to think clearly and deeply is at all times a natural, and never an acquired power, clear utterance, which depends upon clear thought, must also be natural and not acquired.

This is all I have to say, Sir, on the subject.

FIFTH SPEAKER.— Sir, Power is of no value without impetus. A Steam Engine may be of great strength ; but without fuel it is worthless, and without guidance it can do no work. Just in like manner, a man of genius is useless without Knowledge, and ineffective without Art. Mere greatness is nothing, and can do nothing ; it is like a perfect lamp unfilled and untrimmed.

Now it is very difficult to say whether we are most indebted for the light to the lamp, to the oil, or to the trimming. Without the oil the lamp could not be lighted ; without the lamp the oil would be of no service ; and without the trimming, the lamp would burn so ill as to be nearly useless, and very disagreeable.

And, Sir, it is equally difficult to say whether the genius for speaking, the knowledge of the subject, or the art of delivery, is the most important element in the Orator's success. Without Genius his remarks will be commonplace and ineffective : without Knowledge they will be brilliant

but useless; and without Art they will be ill-arranged, graceless, and unattractive.

To me it seems that no man is a good Orator who fails to combine all the three elements we have named; who has not the genius that gives him clear and deep glances into truth: the knowledge that gives him the power of fact and of proof; and the art that gives him the means of attracting and securing the attention of his auditors.

As I *must* choose between the three sources of the Orator's success, I give my vote for Knowledge. For as it is the oil which is the real source of light, no matter what the lamp may be, so it is Knowledge that is the true illuminator of speech, no matter who may be the utterer.

SIXTH SPEAKER. — I think it is Rousseau who says that Oratory requires such a combination of qualities that he wonders how any man dares to open his mouth in public. "Combination of qualities:" mark that phrase! *qualities*, not *acquirements*, are needed by the Orator: qualities of genius, not qualities communicated by knowledge. Insight, judgment, comparison, method, boldness, and constructiveness; these are the qualities on which a man depends in Oratory: and these, you will observe, are all born gifts, and not acquired faculties. It follows, therefore, that to Genius, or Nature, the Orator is mainly indebted.

Take two boys of the same age: teach them the same facts, and give them an equal knowledge of Art: you will find that they will make quite different speakers. One boy will be bright, quick, ready of perception, facile in illustration, and enthusiastic in argument: the other will be dull, slow to see, incorrect in judgment, inconclusive in reasoning, and feeble in proof: Does not this clearly show us that it is Genius and not Education that really makes a man an Orator? I grant that Education is a most important element in the Orator's success; but I hold that it is less important than Natural Talent. Genius without Art will make a man a better speaker than Art without Genius: for Genius will always give eloquence, whilst Art at the most can only give fluency. Genius is the *possession* of mental power: Art is only the means of its *development*. Genius is the stream, and Art the channel: it needs no logic to prove that Genius must be the greater of the two: for as a stream will make itself a channel, whatever may obstruct it, so Genius will find for itself a means of development, however great and numerous may be the difficulties in its way.

SEVENTH SPEAKER.—Sir, Knowledge in an Orator may be compared to materials in the hands of a skilful architect: it is the matter by which he builds his edifice. Now just as the skill of the

builder would be valueless and unavailing were he without materials to build, so (it seems to me) is the genius of the Orator without use or value, if he be without Knowledge. For what can he do? Talk, but prove nothing: shine, but give no light: please, but yield no instruction. Now, we know that even a common workman, if you give him materials, will build us a house; it will not be so grand, so elegant, so proportionate, or so tasteful as the house that an architect of genius would raise: but it will, to say the least of it, be better than none. Well; just in the same way the edifice of thought that a speaker without genius, but possessed of knowledge, would rear, would be better and more useful to us (because more substantial) than the airy fabric of fancy and eloquence—fancy without substance, and eloquence without information—which the Orator of Genius, unaccompanied by Knowledge, would create for us.

Only let a man *know* a subject, and he will soon find a way to let out his intelligence, and to profit the world by it. He may speak badly, ungracefully, and unmusically; without plan, succinctness, or style; but he will say what he means, before he has done, and will make his audience fully understand him. How often do you see a Lecturer upon Art or Science, who exhibits the greatest possible awkwardness and difficulty in the

use of speech, and who yet will manage to enlighten you upon his subject as well (though not so easily) as the most accomplished Orator could have done. This convinces me that Knowledge is the chief power which the Student of Oratory should seek to acquire.

EIGHTH SPEAKER. — Sir, When the last speaker compared the Orator to an architect, I could not but call to mind the words of Cowper on this subject. He says,

“ It is not mortar, wood, and stone,
The architect requires alone
To finish a fine building ;
The structure were but half complete
If he could possibly forget
The carving and the gilding.”

Now we need no interpreter to tell us that the materials here named betoken Knowledge, whilst the “carving and gilding” typify Art. Here, then, we see the relative value of the two elements. Knowledge supplies material, and Art fits that material to its purpose. If this be so, I think it will appear that Art has the higher value; materials are nothing by themselves: the mere heaping together of stones does not build a house. It is only when Art is applied to them, that the materials become of any service. The commonest workman (and I thank the last speaker for the illustration,

for it suits my argument, at least as well as his), the commonest workman can only build by rule, by Art. It is Art that digs the stone, Art that makes the tools, Art that shapes the material, Art that lifts them to their proper places, Art that binds the fabric together. A man may conceive a gorgeous palace in his mind, another may have the materials to build it, but until the man who has been *taught how* to build appears, the palace remains uncreated. Just in the same way, a man of Genius may conceive a vast truth, and a man of Knowledge possess the materials to prove it, but until the man of Art comes to put it into shape and form, the truth remains unproved and useless. I do not deny that the possession of Genius is in itself greater than the possession of Knowledge or Art; but I simply argue that as Art is more practically important and necessary than either Knowledge or Genius, it is more valuable to the Orator than they are.

NINTH SPEAKER.—Sir, I am inclined to think that a very important cause of an Orator's success has been hitherto quite overlooked. I think that to *confidence* a speaker is very deeply indebted for his triumphs. Many a man who possesses all the other sources of power referred to, Genius, Knowledge, and the theory of Art, is so abashed and confused when he begins to speak, that, with all his

talent, his attempts end in failure ; whilst, on the contrary, you often find that a man who possesses this quality of confidence succeeds in winning the attention and applause of his audience, although he is neither a man of Genius, nor of Knowledge, nor of Taste.

Now I presume that this quality of confidence is a gift of nature, a peculiarity of constitution. Some men, are naturally timid, others naturally brave : the timid ones, of course, will be nervous, apprehensive, and abashed when they address an audience ; whilst the brave ones will be bold and courageous.

Oratory, then, depends mainly on nature, I believe : as a man is naturally constituted, so will he be able, or unable to speak.

I have hitherto referred to man's *mental* constitution : but his success as an Orator depends also very greatly upon his *physical* constitution. If his voice is weak or disagreeable, if his organs of utterance be imperfect, if his countenance be repulsive, his body ridiculous or diminutive, his action and gesture naturally awkward or laughable, he will never be successful as a speaker : contempt will attend his efforts, and ridicule will soon force him into silence. On the other hand, how often do you see a man who is evidently stamped an Orator by nature. He possesses a commanding presence, a thoughtful brow, an intelligent eye,

a deep and varying voice, a graceful and dignified action, a manner altogether imposing and majestic. If I may be allowed to instance a striking example from the great speakers of the present age, I would select the late Mr. O'Connell as my proof. No one could have looked at that man without feeling that nature meant him for an Orator. His person, his voice, his gesture, and his striking action, showed at once that he was born with a genius for speech. Whether he were in the House of Commons, or before a hundred thousand of his countrymen in the open air in Ireland, every sound was hushed whilst he was speaking, and every eye fixed on him throughout his address. And this instance is but one of many. It is nature that stamps the Orator, and to nature he owes his success.

TENTH SPEAKER.—The last speaker has told us, Sir, that it is to confidence, and to mental and physical constitution, that the Orator owes most of his success: let me say a few words to you on this point.

Now I think that confidence is not a gift of nature at all, and has nothing whatever to do with a man's constitution. Confidence depends partly on Knowledge, and partly on Practice, or Art. Many men are nervous because they fear that they shall break down: this must result from a want of confidence in their knowledge. How could they

fear failure, if they knew they could prove the truth of what they have to say ?

But I think that the chief cause of nervousness in speaking is want of practice. The voice sounds strangely to a young speaker : he does not know it : the many faces he sees before him, all looking at him, cause his bewilderment : memory fails him ; he becomes perplexed, forgetful, and incoherent : hence he fails. But practice remedies all this. He gets used to the sound of his voice, and to the attention of his auditors : he feels less trepidation every time he speaks ; his memory improves, and gathers strength by exercise : his thoughts arise more continuously and more regularly ; and he becomes able at length to utter his thoughts with certainty and effect. The debt he owes to Art is a very great one, even in a physical point of view. Art improves, strengthens, and tunes his voice ; drills his body into proper postures ; gives elegance to his action, and dignity to his appearance ; and corrects the faults of his utterance. Let any one who is sceptical respecting the high value and importance of Art in oratory refer particularly to the case of Demosthenes. His failure at first and his ultimate success have been already referred to : let us now see what he did to make himself the perfect Orator he, in the end, became. He devoted himself entirely to Art. He declaimed (as we read) with pebbles in his mouth, and so corrected his

articulation: he spoke by the sea-shore, and thus gave power to his voice: he practised attitude and action in a mirror, and so improved his manner and gesture: in a word, he trusted all to Art, and Art rewarded him with the most perfect success ever attained by a speaker. What more need I say?

ELEVENTH SPEAKER.—Sir, I think that success in oratory depends more upon moral character than upon Genius, Knowledge, or Art. The man of truth, of rectitude, and of goodness, is the greatest Orator after all. For moral goodness gives consciousness of right; consciousness gives earnestness; earnestness gives eloquence; and eloquence never fails to find striking language and impressive action. How was it that the oratory of Paul made Felix tremble? Not because the apostle was an orator “stamped by nature,” as one gentleman said; for he was a mean-looking, and, I believe, deformed man; but because he spoke with the fervour and earnestness which always attend conviction, of “righteousness and the world to come.” There was no Genius in this: there was no Art in it: but it was simply the moral conviction of a true-hearted man flashing out of his soul. And thus you will always find that earnest and good men are eloquent men. I do not say “fluent:” fluency is not eloquence, by any means: fluency belongs

to words, eloquence to thought. Give a man a subject which engages his whole heart and soul, and whether he be educated or uneducated, a genius or an artist, a man of universal knowledge, or a man of limited experience, you will see that he will speak well and forcibly and effectively upon that subject whenever he treats of it. I have a far greater faith in moral conviction than in intellectual strength, stores of knowledge, or artistical perfection: the Orator who speaks from the heart is the only true Orator: the only Orator whose fame will really last. With these sentiments, Sir, I must be excused from giving a vote upon this question.

TWELFTH SPEAKER.—Sir, With all due respect to the gentleman who cited Demosthenes as a proof of the value of Art in Oratory, I must be allowed to express my opinion that the great Orator referred to owed less to Art than we (some of us) imagine.

It is quite true that Art led him to conquer many natural defects and difficulties: but it was the perception and conviction of the Genius within him, that induced him to study Art as he did. Unless it can be shown that the same amount of study would make any man a Demosthenes, it must be admitted that Demosthenes was an Orator naturally superior to other men; and consequently

that on Nature, more than Art, oratorical success depends. Art was useful to Demosthenes, *because he was possessed of genius*; the same amount of practice by a dullard would have done comparatively little good. Sir, Demosthenes owed all his real success to his genius. He had the sense to see, and the heart to feel, that the slavery and luxury of Greece were abominable and detestable: and with a mental vigour, and a moral force, without parallel in history, he made *his* conviction the conviction of all Greece. When he said, "LET US MARCH AGAINST PHILIP: LET US CONQUER OR DIE," it was not the blazing eye, not the energetic arm, not the loud voice, not the determined manner, of the speaker that led the vast crowd he addressed to echo his appeal: it was the sentiment, the truth, he uttered that aroused his auditors. *His* soul saw and spoke to *their* souls: and the manner was nothing, as compared with the matter of his speech. Upon Nature, therefore, acting upon knowledge, the success of the Orator seems entirely to depend. These, Sir, are my opinions on this subject.

THIRTEENTH SPEAKER.—Sir, It appears to me that Demosthenes himself opposes the arguments of his defenders and champions. *They* maintain that success in Oratory depends on genius; *he* on the contrary asserts that it depends on art.

What is the first requisite in an Orator? he was asked. *Action*, was his reply. What the second? *Action*. What the third? *Action*. By *Action* he here means Elocution, or the art of delivery. If, then, it is the opinion of the greatest master of speech ever known, that art does more for the Orator than nature, how can we suppose or contend that nature is superior to art?


Art, let us bear in mind, is, as it relates to speech, a term of wide meaning. It includes, not merely the *mechanism* of speech, but the whole management of knowledge and mental power. The means by which Knowledge is acquired, the rules by which thought is reduced into order, and the discipline of the mind, as much belong to the art of Oratory, as the management of the voice and the action of the body.

To art, therefore, I give the highest place. Taught by art, the student will gather wisdom, enlarge his mind, cultivate his perception, exercise his imagination, strengthen his memory, accumulate ideas, supply himself with facts and illustrations, practise himself in logic, proof, and philosophy, observe the emotions of feeling and passion, learn how to portray them, and beyond all this train his mind into habits of thought and virtue, and his physical powers into pliancy, gracefulness, and strength. This, you may depend, will make a man a far greater Orator than he will

become under the mere impulse of genius, or aided by the most extended human knowledge.

OPENER (*in reply*).— Sir, I have been led by this debate to see that excellence in Oratory depends not upon any one of the elements to which my question refers, but upon all. Mere genius will never make an Orator; nor will mere knowledge; nor will mere art: it is only by the union of the three that a successful Orator can be formed.

In educating for an Orator, therefore, this fact must be most carefully kept in view. We must ascertain, first, that power exists in the mind we seek to teach: that it has quickness to see, capacity to judge, method to arrange, and aptness to apply: we must next fill that mind with knowledge: knowledge of every sort: physical, mental, and moral: not heaped together chaotically, but communicated gradually and in orderly arrangement: and we must lastly refine the mind by art: methodise what it has thought and learnt, and shape it into form, and gracefulness, and beauty. I would not bestow too much attention upon art; for it has a tendency to mechanise and unspiritualise the mind: but I would keep it in its due place, and perpetually fix attention upon the more important elements beyond it. Above all, I would instruct the mind of the student in truth and virtue. I would say to him, Let truth be your



aim, and to that, and that only, bow. You have but one cause to serve : yes, understand me well ! you must serve the cause of goodness, and that cause alone, or your acquirements will be a curse to you rather than a blessing, and a reproach rather than an honour. Recollect that as nothing more highly ennobles the character of man than the right use of the faculty of speech, so nothing degrades it lower than the employment of this power to vile purposes. If you condescend to stoop from the lofty pedestal of honour, and employ your strength to promote vice and error, mistake me not ! you will be made bitterly to feel your degradation, and the shafts you point at truth will turn into your own bosom. He who stirs the passions of men to enlist them on the side of infidelity and vice, must necessarily lead a life of hypocrisy and dissimulation ; and who will say that such a life can be a happy one ? whilst, on the other hand, he who uses his faculties to promote virtue and honour cannot fail to live a life of peace and pleasure, of peace that is steady and unvarying, of pleasure that is pure and holy. " Let your aim," I would say to him in conclusion, " be the interest and the good of those around you : let the means you employ be honour and sincerity ; and then you will find that in seeking the happiness of your fellow-beings, you have taken the

best and most effectual method to advance your own.

See EDINBURGH REVIEW, vol. vii. pp. 296—315.;
vol. xxviii. p. 60; vol. xxxiii. pp. 240, 241.;
vol. xxxv. pp. 171—173.

HUME'S ESSAY ON ELOQUENCE.

WHATELEY'S RHETORIC.

BRANDE'S DICTIONARY OF SCIENCE, LITERATURE,
AND ART. Art. "Eloquence," and
the authorities there quoted.

AUSTIN'S CHIRONOMIA.

LORD BROUGHAM'S ESSAY ON THE ELOQUENCE
OF THE ANCIENTS.

PART II.

OUTLINES OF DEBATES.

QUESTION:

Which does the greater Injury to Society, the Miser or the Spendthrift?

It may be contended that the Miser does more to injure society than the Spendthrift:

- I. Because he withdraws capital from circulation, whilst the other causes its distribution.
- II. Because he leads people, by the influence of example, to devote themselves to Mammon-worship, than which there is not a more wicked or more pernicious crime.
- III. Because his avarice tends to abridge the comforts of those around him, to limit the education of his children in knowledge and virtue, and to set an example of selfishness to the world.
- IV. Because the hoarding of money tends to the production of that worst state in which a nation can be placed, when a few are rich and the many poor.

- V. Because, the love of money being the root of all evil, avarice tends to nourish and develop every sort of crime.

On the other hand it may be argued that the Spendthrift is more injurious to society than the Miser :

- I. Inasmuch as, by distributing capital, he prevents those large accumulations which are the bases of all extensive enterprises in trade or commerce.
- II. Because he, in effect, discourages industry and frugality in the heads of families; for what father would hoard for a spendthrift son?
- III. Because he brings to utter ruin those who are dependent upon him.
- IV. Because his miserable courses tend to give us a degraded and vile idea of our species, and so to check friendship and sympathy.
- V. Because he offers a bad example to the world.

Upon the question generally, it may be said that the injury done to society by these two characters is nearly, if not entirely, equal. The Spendthrift is as far away from virtue on the one

side, as the Miser is on the other; and the effects of prodigality are as bad as those of avarice.

The characters are extremes, and are seemingly set up by nature to be mutually counteractive. Thus the world is generally secured from the effects of hoarding avarice, by the fact that miserly fathers usually leave their fortunes to spendthrift sons. The accumulated heaps of one generation are generally dispersed in the next: and in this manner the equilibrium of character is tolerably well-preserved.

See M'CULLOCH'S POLITICAL ECONOMY, pp. 504—509.

ADAM SMITH'S WEALTH OF NATIONS.

MAMMON. By the Rev. J. Harris, D.D.

MACKENZIE'S HISTORY OF FRUGALITY.

RAMSAY. ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH.

TORRENS. ON THE PRODUCTION OF WEALTH.

QUESTION :

Is universal Peace probable.

THE supporters of the negative might say —

- I. That the present appearance of the world gives no promise that Universal Peace is at all to be expected. Ambition is opposed to ambition, interest to interest, and many other sources exist from which quarrels may be anticipated. Disputed territories; mutual jealousies; irritated distrust; and many other causes of hostility, threaten war daily, even in Europe.
- II. That the principle of hatred and contention implanted in all our hearts cannot fail to produce and foment quarrels, which only appeals to arms can decide.
- III. That as a large class in every community finds pleasure and interest in war, it is scarcely possible that war can ever cease.
- IV. That whilst the human race exists, sources of contention cannot altogether cease: but social, domestic, political, or foreign discontent will always need to be repressed by military strength.

In the affirmative it may be argued—

- I. That although the present appearance of the world may lead us to think that existing contentions can only be settled by the sword, the increasing infrequency of war gives promise of Universal Peace at some future time.
- II. That civilisation brings a growing conviction that war is unjustifiable; and therefore, that when civilisation is perfect, this conviction will be universal, and war will be abolished.
- III. That as men have at length found that war is in the highest degree inexpedient, and destructive to the best interests of the human race, considerations of policy ensure its gradual and certain abolition.
- IV. That although there are in the human heart principles of strife and hatred existing, the Christian religion is gradually rooting out these seeds of evil, and planting principles of Peace instead; which will not cease to grow until they have covered the whole earth.
- V. That we have clear Scriptural assurances that Universal Peace shall one day prevail.

The following amongst others may be cited:

- I. The prophetic description of our Saviour, namely, "THE PRINCE OF PEACE."
- II. The anthem of the Angels at the birth of Christ, "*Peace* and goodwill amongst men."
- III. The dying bequest of our Lord, "*Peace* I leave with you; *my peace* I give unto you."
- IV. The distinct prophecy of Isaiah that "Nation shall not rise against nation, neither shall there be war any more."

See LORD JEFFREY'S ESSAYS, vol. i. pp. 91—93.

SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH'S WORKS, ii. pp. 320—327.

THE TRACTS of the PEACE SOCIETY.

CHALMERS'S WORKS. DISCOURSE ON WAR.

ROBERT HALL. ON WAR, vol. i.

CHANNING. ON WAR.

PYNE'S LAW OF KINDNESS.

CAPTAIN SWORD AND CAPTAIN PEN. By
Leigh Hunt.

QUESTION :

*Which was the greatest man, Bonaparte, Watt, or
Howard?*

THE supporters of *Bonaparte* might say that he was the greatest because he had the largest capacity and genius: proofs of which are to be found in that rare combination of abilities which made him, from the condition of a subordinate soldier, rise to be the humbler of Europe, and the Emperor of France: and which enabled him to settle and successfully govern his country at the most disorderly and chaotic period in her history.

The supporters of *Watt* might say that he was the greatest man because he did the most to benefit mankind. Napoleon was more dazzling; but Watt was more useful. By applying and improving the steam-engine he conferred lasting advantages upon the human race, whilst Napoleon's brilliant career was an injurious and destructive one to man. The question of the comparative greatness of Napoleon and James Watt depends

upon whether vast genius not turned to good account is greater than inferior genius beneficially employed.

The favourers of *Howard* might say that as moral goodness is the only *true* greatness, his pure philanthropy and generous charity make him a greater man than either the giant-souled *Napoleon*, or the ingenious and useful *Watt*.

That *Howard's* unceasing efforts to conquer cruelty in prison discipline prove him to be both of higher courage than *Napoleon*, and of more value than *James Watt*; for his bravery was the bravery of soul, whilst *Bonaparte's* was only the bravery of physical courage; and his philanthropy was the philanthropy of heart which led him to desire the *moral* good of his fellow-creatures, whilst *James Watt's* endeavours were directed merely to the improvement of man's *physical* condition.

Opportunity may be taken in this discussion to show,

- I. The detestability, horrors, and inexpediency of war; of which *Napoleon's* history furnishes the most striking instances on record.
- II. The vast good that a philanthropic spirit can effect; for to *Howard's* endeavours our improved, but not yet perfect, prison discipline is mainly owing.

III. That brilliancy is not to be mistaken for greatness, as true greatness never exists without goodness.

See ROBERT HALL, ON BONAPARTE.

FOSTER'S CHARACTER OF HOWARD.

LORD JEFFREY'S WORKS, vol. iv. pp. 551—556.

CARLYLE'S HERO WORSHIP. "THE HERO AS KING."

EMERSON'S ESSAY ON HEROISM.

BURKE ON THE CHARACTER OF HOWARD.
(Speeches).

CHANNING'S CHARACTER OF NAPOLEON.

ARAGO'S LIFE OF WATT.

QUESTION :

*Which are of the greater Importance in Education,
the Classics or Mathematics ?*

To give a wide and useful scope to this discussion, it may be as well to let the word "Classics" stand for "General Literature," and "Mathematics" for "Science."

The supporters of the Classics might contend that they are of greater value than Mathematics :

- I. Because they tend to *widen* thought, whilst Mathematics tend to *concentrate* it.
- II. Because they lead to the cultivation of *all* the faculties of the mind, whilst Mathematics simply exercise the perceptive and reasoning powers.
- III. Because they promote the enlargement and spiritualisation of the mind, whilst Mathematics tend to make it mechanical, narrow, and dogmatical.
- IV. Because they fill the mind with images of beauty which tend both to mental happiness

and moral goodness, whilst Mathematics simply fill the mind with facts, and close it against all speculative Philosophy.

V. Because they promote inquiry and faith, whilst Mathematics tend to make the mind reject as false whatever cannot be proved by logic to be true.

VI. Because by exercising and stimulating thought, they lead to the elevation of mental over mechanical force, whilst Mathematical science tends to subjugate spiritual to material power.

The defenders of Mathematics might say that they are more beneficial to the mind than the Classics ;

I. Because they are the best means we possess of arriving satisfactorily at physical, mental, and even moral, truth.

II. Because, by placing facts in due mutual relation, they form the only sure foundation on which we can build our Knowledge, our Faith, and our Hopes.

III. Because, by cultivating the study of Science, they lead to the discovery of mechanical, mineral, and other material forces, which mere speculation would never have found out.

- IV. Because, by fixing the mind on fact and proof, they give it firmness, clearness, and solid principles; and render it less liable to be misled.
- V. Because, by filling the mind with absolute Knowledge, they form the starting-points to truth; whilst mere speculative thought mostly leads towards bewilderment and error.
- VI. Because they train the mind into steady, earnest, and continuous habits of thought: and thereby produce patience, constancy, determination, order, quickness of apprehension, foresight, and judgment.
- VII. Because they restrain that tendency to credulity, speculative belief, and visionary Philosophy, towards which mere untrained thought generally leads.

See BROUGHAM ON SUBJECTS OF SCIENCE, AS
CONNECTED WITH NATURAL THEOLOGY.

CHALMERS' CHRISTIAN REVELATION AS CON-
NECTED WITH MODERN ASTRONOMY.

WHEWELL'S ASTRONOMY AND GENERAL PHY-
SICS IN REFERENCE TO NATURAL THEOLOGY.

WHEWELL, ON UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.

SIDNEY SMITH'S WORKS, vol. i. pp. 183—199.

ROBT. HALL, ON CLASSICAL LEARNING.

LESLIE, ON MATHEMATICAL SCIENCE.

PLAYFAIR, ON MATHEMATICAL SCIENCE.

QUESTION:

Are Brutes endowed with Reason?

THE affirmative may be supported by arguments from experience and from analogy.

Reason may be defined to be the power of drawing conclusions from premises; of perceiving differences; and of forming a judgment from ideas derived from observation or memory: and the following (among other) instances may be adduced to show that animals possess this power:

- I. If a dog be beaten for stealing meat from a butcher's shop, he will never pass that shop again unless he be compelled: here the recollection of his punishment clearly operates with him as a reason to prevent him from incurring the chance of a second beating.
- II. If an elephant, a horse, or a dog be injured, he will always recollect the injurer, and if possible punish him: instances of this kind are

to be found in every work on natural history : here we see a rational recollection, and a rational appreciation of revenge as a satisfaction and punishment.

- III. In the skill of the bee, the provident habits of the ant, the sagacity of the dog, and the ingenuity (amongst other instances) of the monkey, we clearly see the evidence of constructive, rational, and mental power, which must owe a much higher source than mere physical life; and which we cannot help imputing to the existence of the same intellectual intelligence (the same in essence, though different in degree) as is possessed by man.

On the other side it may be said—

- I. That the rational faculties which appear to exist in the Brute Creation are simply the faculties of instinct, and not of Reason at all.
- II. That instinct is a species of intelligence quite different from Reason, consisting mostly of an intuitive perception of facts, whilst Reason is the power that leads us to discover truth by search.
- III. That the ideas of animals are essentially different from the ideas of man, inasmuch as they are simply perceptive, whilst man's are both perceptive and reflective.

- IV. That as Reason includes a perception of moral good and evil, and as the Brute Creation has no such perception, Brutes are *not* endowed with Reason.
- V. That between the least intelligent of Men, and the most intelligent of Brutes, there are such striking differences, that the Brute and the Man, must be of essentially different natures.
- VI. That man's place as "lord of the brute" clearly implies superiority and difference of rational power.

A very interesting discussion might arise here upon the *immortality* of Brutes: one side maintaining —

That if the principle of life which animates the Brute Creation, can be for ever extinguished, there cannot but arise a fear that man's existence may be altogether annihilated, too.

The other side replying :—

That it is not the mental, but the *moral* part of man's being that is promised immortality; and that (with King David, who says, that "in the grave all our *thoughts* perish") we have every ground for believing that it is not

the *mental faculties*, but the *moral perceptions*, that will survive this life.

Occasion may be taken in this debate to inculcate kindness and humanity towards the Brute Creation.

See JESSE'S ANECDOTES OF DOGS.

JESSE'S GLEANINGS IN NATURAL HISTORY.

HISTORY AND INSTINCTS OF ANIMALS.—LARDNER'S CABINET CYCLOPEDIA.

GREGORY'S COMPARATIVE VIEW OF MEN AND ANIMALS.

WATERTON'S ESSAY ON NATURAL HISTORY.

DR. CHALMERS' SERMON ON CRUELTY TO ANIMALS.

TOPLADY'S SPEECH ON THE IMMORTALITY OF BRUTES.

ADRIÉ MARTIN'S WORK ON EDUCATION.—Translated by LEE.

CARPENTER'S INSTINCT IN ANIMALS.

SHARON TURNER'S SACRED HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

VESTIGES OF CREATION, pp. 333—336.

HUME'S ESSAY ON THE REASON OF ANIMALS, vol. ii. pp. 111—117.

REID ON THE MIND, p. 489. "On Instinct."

FLETCHER'S CRUELTY TO ANIMALS.

QUESTION :

Is Duelling justifiable ?

DUELING may be defended,—

- I. Because it is the only method by which honour can be protected, avenged, or satisfied.
- II. Because, it being a custom of the state of society in which we find ourselves, we are bound to submit to it.
- III. Because it is a useful check upon those vices of society which do not come within the range of law: such as insult, libertinism, and falsehood.
- IV. Because it is a test of personal courage, and because it is a plain and intelligible law to the effect, that what a man says or does, he must, when called on, be ready to defend.

The opponents of duelling may contend that it is unjustifiable—

- I. Because it fails to accomplish its pretended aims; inasmuch as (whatever its aim may be) it neither avenges, nor satisfies wounded honour.

- II. Inasmuch as it makes an appeal to right a simple game of chance.
- III. Inasmuch as it gives the injured no redress, and the injurer power to do more mischief.
- IV. Because, although a law of society, it is a wicked and absurd law; and is therefore not binding.
- V. Because the vices which it is presumed to hold in check are not abated by it, and could better be restrained by law.
- VI. Because it proves, not courage, but foolhardiness: for what but foolhardy can we call a man who flings his soul to perdition, rather than disobey a foolish custom of society?
- VII. Because it is an irrational and most ridiculous practice.
- VIII. Because it is totally opposed to all morality.
- IX. Because it is a direct violation of the laws of God.

See CARLYLE'S *SARTOR RESARTUS*.

WRITINGS OF SYDNEY TAYLOR, pp. 357. 362.
366.

PALEY'S *MORAL AND POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY*.

CHILLINGWORTH *AGAINST DUELLING*.

DR. MILLINGEN *ON DUELLING*.

BRANDE'S *DICTIONARY OF SCIENCE, &c.* Art.

"Duel," and the Works there quoted.

QUESTION :

Is Modern equal to Ancient Oratory?

THIS question resolves itself into two distinct considerations: I. Whether modern is equal to ancient Oratory in *Style*? and II. Whether it is equal in *Aim* and *Effect*?

As to *Style* (which includes all that is meant by *composition*) it may be said by the favourers of ancient Oratory, that nothing of modern times equals the style of Demosthenes, Eschines, and Cicero. The simplicity, the grandeur, the dignity, the power, the intellectual and moral force of these great orators, are altogether without parallel in modern ages. The orations of Eschines and Demosthenes "On the Crown," and the speeches of Cicero for Milo, may be instanced as containing the most perfect specimens of oratorical style that the world possesses. Demosthenes, for bold simplicity of thought, Eschines, for energetic statement and strength of denunciation, and Cicero for his exquisitely lucid, picturesque, and earnest style, are (it may be said) quite unrivalled by any subsequent orators.

In comparison with these great speakers as to style, it may be asserted that amongst modern orators, speakers are to be found who are as great in some separate qualities, if not in all.* Thus it may be maintained, for instance, that Lord Chatham was as dignified and earnest as Demosthenes, that Fox was as simple and massive, and that Burke was as vehement and manly. So, also, it may be argued that Sheridan was as pointed and sarcastic as Cicero; Curran as lofty and dignified; Brougham as crushing and severe; Bossuet as impressive; and Canning as felicitous in illustration and argument. Granting, therefore, that no single modern orator is alone as great as either of the speakers referred to, it may be safely said, that they separately exhibit the same qualities and excellences of style.

It may be further said, on behalf of modern Oratory in general, that in richness of illustration and beauty of style (by beauty is here meant appropriateness of imagery, and elegance of language), the modern Orators far surpass their great progenitors. The vast accumulations of knowledge and the incalculable produce of new mines of thought which have been gathered together in modern times, have given to our Orators resources of reference, illustration, and proof which the Orators of old were entirely without. If a speech of Demosthenes' or Cicero's be perused by the side of a

speech of Brougham's or Macaulay's, it will be seen at once that where the olden Orator was obliged to appeal to abstract reason, the modern Orator is enabled to refer triumphantly to irresistible facts, in support of his position. As to *aim* and *effect*, it may be said by the favourers of ancient Oratory that the endeavours of Demosthenes to rouse effeminate Greece against the invader of her freedom, and the unceasing efforts of Cicero to keep inviolate the rights and privileges of his fellow-countrymen, are aims, as high, if not higher, than any seen in modern times. The *effect* these Orators produced is seen not merely in the applause and success which they immediately experienced, but in the intelligible and striking fact that they have remained the acknowledged masters and models of speech from their day to our own.

The favourers of modern Oratory may assert, on the other hand, that our own speakers have aimed higher and done more. They may point triumphantly to the efforts of Brougham to exterminate the slave trade; of Pitt, to procure the honour and independence of his country; of Chalmers, to connect, and mutually prove, natural and revealed religion; of Grattan, to demand right and justice for his injured nation; of Romilly, to reform our barbarous laws; and of Sheridan to keep pure the administration of justice.

A striking result in favour of Modern Oratory,

may be obtained by comparing 'the celebrated Oration of Cicero against Verres, with Sheridan's Invective against Warren Hastings. Cicero declaims against Verres because he has infringed the rights of *citizenship*, the peculiar *privileges* of the Roman State. His great point against the culprit is, not that he has condemned a Roman citizen to death, but to death *like a slave*. He calls on the Senate to chastise, not the cruelty, not the injustice, not the treason, of Verres, but his *contempt* and *insolence*. In a word, he speaks for Privilege and Pride.

But Sheridan, in his denunciation of Hastings, takes far loftier ground. Spurning the arbitrary distinctions of "citizen" and "slave," he takes his stand on the broad field of humanity, and demands equality of rights for all who bear the human form. He ranks the man above the citizen, and so shows himself the nobler Orator.

See BROUGHAM'S ESSAY ON THE ELOQUENCE OF
THE ANCIENTS.—COLLECTED WORKS, vol. iv.
SHERIDAN'S PANEGYRIC ON DEMOSTHENES.
WHATELEY'S RHETORIC.
HUME'S ESSAY ON ELOQUENCE.

QUESTION :

Is the Character of Napoleon Bonaparte to be admired ?

No character being absolutely bad or good, we can only arrive at judgment of character by striking a balance between the good qualities and the bad ones ; this must, therefore, be done in the case before us.

The points to be admired in Bonaparte's character are —

I. His clear, keen, vigorous intellect.

This enabled him to see the position of France at the time of the Revolution, to profit by the emergency, and to raise upon the ruins of Faction, a strong and popular throne. It is seen in his choice of generals and statesmen, in his manner of disposing a field of battle, in his military manœuvres, in his political government, in the celebrated Code Napoleon, in the rapidity of his conceptions, and the inexhaustibleness of his inventions.

II. His energy of purpose and action.

There was no trifling or wavering in him ; he

instantly executed the plans he conceived. Difficulties never daunted, but always stimulated, him. Witness his crossing of the Alps, his expedition to Egypt, his march to Moscow.

III. *His courage, boldness, and presence of mind.*

He never falters, never shrinks; he is always cool, guarded, and himself.—His schemes are invariably massive, great, and daring.

In brief, to use the words of Channing, the greatness of Napoleon was the greatness of *action*: the sublime power of conceiving bold and extensive plans, and of constructing and bringing to bear on them a complicated machinery of means, energies, and arrangements. He raised himself from obscurity to a throne, and changed the face of the world. So far he was great, and such greatness we must admire.

But he had many faults: notice first—

His inhumanity.

He was perfectly reckless of human life, and would sacrifice all under his command to gain his ends. Jaffa, Acre, and the murders of the Duc D'Enghien, Wright, and Pichegru, will soil his name for ever.

He was a violator of all law.

He seized upon independent neutral states, such as Leghorn, Parma, and Modena, and compelled tribute from them. He robbed Italy of her treasures of art, usurped the throne of France for ambition's sake alone, and respected no will or right but his own.

He deliberately injured his country.

True, he rebuilt Paris; true he adorned it with stolen treasures: but look at his conscriptions! at the bloodshed of millions in his battles; at his espionage; at his enslavement of the press.

He was as wickedly ambitious a man as ever lived.

Why was he not content as Emperor of France? To be *that* was enough; but he aimed at being Emperor of the world, and thus showed an ambition without a parallel.

Mark further his vanity and egotism.

His selfishness almost surpasses belief; he did all for himself; thought of none else. He regarded himself as the greatest of men; as something unconquerable and almost divine. This overweening vanity is well seen in his remark to the King of Holland; "Recollect that your first duty is towards ME, your second towards France."

Napoleon exhibited further a great want of human sympathy and affection: proof of which is

to be found in many remarkable instances, but chiefly in his treatment of his wife and mother.

Much, however, may be said in defence of Napoleon on many grounds :

I. He was called to action at a time of terror and revolution: and was placed in circumstances of cruelty and selfishness which could not fail to demoralise him.

II. He was called upon to rule while too young to govern.

III. He was bred to a military life, the worst possible school of morality.

IV. At his time the immoralities of politicians and warriors were not only not reprobated, but admired and applauded. Falsehood was called state-craft, and the atrocities of war were denominated glories.

See CHANNING.—CHARACTER OF BONAPARTE.

COL. MITCHELL'S FALL OF NAPOLEON.

CHARLES PHILLIPS'S CHARACTER OF NAPOLEON.

SIR W. SCOTT'S LIFE OF NAPOLEON.

BOURRIENNE'S MEMOIRS OF NAPOLEON.

HAZLITT'S CHARACTER OF NAPOLEON.

BROUGHAM'S STATESMEN OF THE REIGN OF
GEORGE III. (Second Series) vol. ii., "NA-
POLEON."

LORD JEFFREY'S ESSAYS, vol. ii. p. 90. et seq.

QUESTION :

Was the Execution of Charles the First justifiable ?

THE point that first arises here is, Whether Death is *ever* a justifiable punishment? for if it be *not*, then whatever Charles may have done, the destruction of him was wrong. The tendency of modern feeling is, perhaps, against the infliction of Death at all; but we must not judge by modern feeling. The theory and practice of the period when Charles suffered were unhesitatingly in favour of Capital Punishment. The act, therefore, judged by the light of the age when it was performed, is in itself unobjectionable, and its propriety or impropriety depends not at all upon abstract considerations.

The question we have principally to try is whether the conduct of Charles was worthy of death, according to the morality of the time.

The supporters of the affirmative may say : That Charles, by making war upon his people, committed an act of aggression on the public life, which was fully as heinous as an attempt at individual murder.

The assertors of the negative may reply : That Charles was driven by opposition and by evil counsel into the course he took ; and that when he commenced war he did so in the firm and conscientious belief that he was doing right : in which case the wicked motive that animates the malicious murderer is by no means chargeable upon him.

The justifiability of King Charles's execution may further be considered as it is affected by considerations of policy.

It may be urged on the one side, That the liberty, well-being, indeed existence, of the people of England depended upon the execution of Charles. Whilst he was in power, the British people were subject to arbitrary and unconstitutional tyranny, were taxed in their pockets, coerced in their religion, threatened in their lives. There was no hope that he would amend, if he were restored, for he showed no remorse and promised no reform. He might have been kept in captivity, but this would have plunged England into continual civil war for his sake. To destroy him was to give a death-blow to his party, and to give England its only chance of peace and order.

On the other side it may be maintained, That subsequent events entirely prove the impolicy of the act. So far from destroying the royalist party, it strengthened their ranks by attaching to it all

who pitied the ^{*}tragical end of Charles, a party ever increasing, during the Protectorate of Cromwell; and strong enough after Cromwell's death to bring back a far worse king, in the person of Charles the Second.

It may be fairly questioned whether the licentiousness of the Second Charles did not entail upon the English people a far greater amount of evil than would have resulted from the continued tyranny of Charles the First.

A very important question bearing on this matter is, as to the *right* of the destroyers of Charles.

On one side it may be said, Who made them his judges? By what right, constitutional or moral, did they arraign and destroy him?

And on the other hand it may be replied,

That tyranny always justifies rebellion, and aggression always confers the right of retaliation. The emergency of self-preservation was, it may be said, the right under which Charles's judges tried and punished him.

See LORD JEFFREY'S ESSAYS, vol. ii. p. 12.

MACAULAY'S CRITICAL ESSAYS, vol. i. pp. 135

—187.; 425—490.

STATESMEN OF THE COMMONWEALTH, in "LARDNER'S CABINET CYCLOPEDIA"

LADY WILLOUGHBY'S DIARY OF THE TIME OF
CHARLES THE FIRST.

MACAULAY'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CLARENDON'S HISTORY OF THE GREAT RE-
BELLION.

CATTERMOLE'S CIVIL WAR.

AIKIN'S CHARLES THE FIRST.

MRS. HUTCHINSON'S MEMOIRS.

FORSTER'S LIFE OF CROMWELL.

MISS MITFORD'S TRAGEDY, "CHARLES THE
FIRST."

QUESTION :

Which is the more happy, a Barbarous, or a Civilised, Man ?

It may be said that the savage is more happy than the civilised man, inasmuch as,

- I. His free and unrestrained life makes him physically healthier.
- II. His wants are more simple and more easily satisfied.
- III. He is free from the cares, anxieties, jealousies, fears, and ambitions of civilised life.
- IV. He is less liable to disorder, either of body or of mind.
- V. He is free from the vices of society : intemperance, hypocrisy, deceit, and fraud.

In opposition it may be said :

- I. That the freedom of life which the savage enjoys is but a poor substitute for the comforts of shelter, clothing, and food, which the

civilised man enjoys: the best proof of which is found in the universal fact, that whenever the savage gets within reach of the civilised man's habits, he adopts them; whilst the civilised man is never attracted towards the habits of the savage.

II. That, although he wants of the savage are simpler and fewer than the wants of the civilised man, his pleasures are also fewer. for he enjoys none of the delights of thought, of affection, of social happiness, of hope, and of religious belief.

III. That, although he is free from the anxieties of life, he is also without knowledge of its privileges and pleasures, both of sense and soul.

IV. That, although he is less liable to physical and mental disease, he is also less capable of enjoyment. He has no disease, but he has no happy health: neither his bodily nor his spiritual powers are turned to good account.

V. That, although he is partially free from the vices of society, he is also unacquainted with its virtues. Benevolence, pity, honour, heroism, constancy, endurance, generosity, patriotism, fortitude, and resistance to temptation, are all unknown to him: whilst he is free from the thorns, he is also without the flowers of life.

The state of the savage is darkness. Darkness mental and moral. The thrilling delights of thought, of reflection, and of judgment, are never his: his best ideas are vague, idle, dreamy, and useless. The unspeakable pleasures of home, of love, of relationship, of friendship, and of social intercourse, are altogether unknown by him. The happiness that waits on an approving conscience, the ineffable pleasure that follows a good deed done, or a bad deed avoided, is a stranger to the savage breast. Above all, the exquisite happiness the civilised man derives from religious impression and belief, the unutterable joy which he feels in the conviction that he has a kind Father in Heaven on whom he can implicitly rely, and in the certainty that he is immortal, and shall never taste of death, all this is entirely unfelt and unknown to the barbarian. The poet says:

"Where ignorance is bliss 'tis folly to be wise."

But ignorance is *never* bliss.

See THE HISTORY OF CIVILISATION. By W. A. Mackinnon, Esq., M.P.

HOBBS'S TREATISE ON HUMAN NATURE.—

"Love of Knowledge."

ROUSSEAU'S "DISCOURS."

HUME'S ESSAYS, "ON REFINEMENT IN THE ARTS," vol. i. p. 285.

GOLDSMITH'S CITIZEN OF THE WORLD, Letters XI. and LXXXII.

ANGAS'S SAVAGE LIFE.

PART III.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION.

1. *Which was the greater Man, Oliver Cromwell or Napoleon Bonaparte?*

See CARLYLE's Letters and Speeches of Cromwell.

CHANNING's Character of Napoleon.

SOUTHEY's Cromwell.

SCOTT's Life of Napoleon.

MITCHELL's Fall of Napoleon.

HAZLITT's Life of Napoleon.

CARLYLE's Hero-Worship. "The Hero as King."

ROBERT HALL on Bonaparte.

MACAULAY's Critical Essays, vol. i. pp. 180—187.

HALLAM's Constitutional History.

LORD BROUGHAM's Statesmen in the Reign of George III.

"Napoleon."

2. *Was the Execution of Mary Queen of Scots justifiable?*

See History of England. — HUME.

P. FRASER TYTLER's Life of Mary.

MISS STRICKLAND's Letters of Mary.

BELL's Life of Mary.

MRS. JAMESON's Life of Mary.

See ROBERTSON'S History of Scotland.

Edinburgh Review, vol. xlv. p. 37.

MISS BENDER'S Life of Mary.

NOTE.—This discussion will embrace the following considerations: For what crimes did Mary suffer? Did she commit the offences alleged against her? And had the law of England any jurisdiction over her?

3. *Has the Invention of Gunpowder been of Benefit to Mankind?*

See CHANNING on War.

GIBBON'S Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, chap. lxxv.

Edinburgh Review, vol. v. p. 471.

WILKINSON'S Engines of War.

NOTE.—It is intended to inquire by this question, Whether Gunpowder, by making war more dreadful and abhorrent, has not tended to lead mankind to its discontinuance? whether, in fact, perfection in War does not necessarily lead to the preference of Peace.

The use of Gunpowder in Mechanics may be taken into consideration with advantage to the discussion.

4. *Which is the more valuable Member of Society, a great Mechanician or a great Poet?*

See CHANNING on the Age.

EMERSON'S Essays.

Edinburgh Review, vol. xlv. p. 365.

—————, vol. xlvii. pp. 184—202.

See M'CULLOCH'S Geographical Dictionary. Art "British Empire"

M'CULLOCH'S Political Economy. *Passim*

NOTE — This question turns upon the comparative value of a Great Doer and a Great Thinker, and lies between the utility of Mechanics and Morals of Physics and Metaphysics. It is the belief of many of the chief writers of the day that our age is too mechanical, and needs to be spiritualised: this debate will open that question.

5. Which was the greater Orator, Demosthenes or Cicero?

See LORD BROUGHTON'S Essay on the Eloquence of the Ancients. Collected Speeches, vol. iv

Edinburgh Review, vol. xxviii p. 60

—————, vol. xxviii pp. 226—246

—————, vol. xxvi pp. 86—101

DR ANTHON'S Cicero. With English Commentary

NOTE — The discussion of this question must include references to style, aim, and effect: artistic, mental, and moral power.

6. Which is the more despicable Character, the Hypocrite or the Liar?

See LORD BACON'S Essay on Truth.

TELLOTTSON, on the Advantages of Truth and Sincerity

BISHOP HALL. Character of the Hypocrite

CARLYLE'S Miscellanies. Cagliostro

MARTIN CHuzzleWIT. Character of Pecksniff.

7. *Has the Fear of Punishment, or the Hope of Reward, the greater Influence on Human Conduct ?*

See ADAM SMITH's Theory of the Moral Sentiments.

MILL on the Human Mind.

BENTHAM's Springs of Action.

DUGALD STEWART on the Mind.

BENTHAM's Rationale of Reward and Punishment

NOTE. — This question involves considerations of great importance. It has to do with Education, Government, and Religion. The fear of punishment is the principle usually supposed to influence us, and upon this principle, for the most part, education, laws, and religious instruction are founded : but many of the wisest men are beginning to doubt this system.

8. *Is Corporal Punishment justifiable ?*

See EDGEWORTH's Practical Education.

WILHELM SPIN'S Education of the Young.

MARSHALL's Military Miscellany.

HANSARD, "Debates on Flogging in the Army."

Edinburgh Review, vol. xii. p. 420.

SYDNEY TAYLOR's Works, p. 195.

9. *Was Brutus justified in killing Cæsar ?*

See the Speech of Brutus in Shakspeare's Julius Cæsar,
Act III. Scene 2.

SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH's Works, vol. iii. p. 274., vol. ii.
pp. 318—325.

HUME's Essays, vol. i. pp. 471., &c.

—————, vol. ii. p. 228. .

NOTE.—This question must be tried by the morals of the time when the act took place, and not by the present standard of morality. It is quite necessary to make this distinction.

10. *Should Emulation be encouraged in Education?*

See EDGEWORTH's Practical Education.

GODWIN's Reflections on Education.

COWPER's Tirocinium.

ADAM SMITH's Theory of the Moral Sentiments.

COLERIDGE's Lines, entitled, "Love, Hope, and Patience in Education."

HOBBS on Envy and Emulation.

SYDNEY SMITH's Works, vol. i. pp. 221—231.

NOTE.—The system of prize-giving in education has supporters and opponents, both so determined, that a discussion upon the subject cannot fail to be interesting and instructive. Philosophy and experience should both be referred to in the debate.

11. *Which was the greater Poet, Milton or Homer?*

See COLERIDGE on the Greek Poets.

CHANNING on Milton.

BLAIR's Lectures.

CAMPBELL on Milton.

ROBERT HALL on Poetic Genius.

TRIBLWALL's Greece, vol. i. p. 24.

MACAULAY's Essays, vol. i. pp. 1—32.

BRANDE's Dictionary of Science, Literature, and Art.

"Epic Poetry;" and the authorities there quoted.

NOTE.—This debate will turn upon the facts that Homer is the more real, life-like, and human poet, whilst Milton is the

more imaginative, sublime, and spiritual : the decision must depend upon which are the nobler qualities.

12. *Is Military Renown a fit Object of Ambition?*

See CHANNING's Essay on War.

CHANNING on Napoleon Bonaparte.

Childe Harold, Canto I. War.

ROBERT MONTGOMERY's Picture of War.

ROBERT HALL on the Miseries of War.

13. *Is Ambition a Vice or a Virtue?*

See HUGHES's Essay on Ambition in the "Guardian."

LORD BACON's Essay on Ambition.

WOLSEY's Advice to Cromwell. Play of Henry VIII.

Paradise Lost. Satan's Address to the Sun.

ADAM SMITH on Misdirected Ambition.

BISHOP WATSON's Sermons to Young Persons.

M'CULLOCH's Political Economy, pp. 527—530.

14. *Has Novel-reading a Moral Tendency?*

See SIR W. SCOTT's Criticism on Novels and Romances.

SCOTT's Treatise on Romance.

The Edinburgh Review, vol. xxiv. pp. 320, &c.

AKENSIDE's Pleasures of Imagination.

LORD JEFFREY's Essays, vol. iii. p. 440.

_____, vol. iv. p. 517.

GOLDSMITH's Citizen of the World, Letter LIII.

NOTE.—It may seem that this question barely admits of discussion, for moral novels must, of course, have a moral tendency

but at least the debate may serve to lead the debaters to a proper selection of novels.

15. *Is the Character of Queen Elizabeth deserving of our Admiration ?*

See HUME's History of England.

LUCY AIKIN's Memoirs of Elizabeth.

SIR W. SCOTT's Kenilworth—for a faithful Portraiture of Elizabeth.

MISS STRICKLAND's Queens of England.

SHARON TURNER's History of Elizabeth's Reign

SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH's Works, vol. iii. pp. 282—284

MACAULAY's Critical Essays, vol. ii. pp. 1—34

16. *Is England rising or falling as a Nation ?*

See BACON's Essay on States and his Essay on the Greatness of Kingdoms.

SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH's Works, vol. iii. pp. 500, 501.

Edinburgh Review, vol. xxi. pp. 22. et seq

M'CULLOCH's Statistics of the British Empire.

Compare the Elements of Modern with the Elements of Ancient Prosperity.

17. *Has Nature or Education the greater Influence in the Formation of Character ?*

See LOCKE's Thoughts on Education.

COMBE's Constitution of Man.

GODWIN on Education.

EDGEWORTH on Education.

WATTS on the Mind.

AIMÉ MARTIN on Education.

LORD JEFFREY's Essays, vol. i. p. 138.

18. *Which is the more valuable Metal, Gold or Iron?*

See URE's Dictionary of Arts, &c. Art. "Iron."

LEYDEN's Ode to an Indian Gold Coin.

JACOB's Enquiry into the Precious Metals.

HOLLAND's Metal Manufactures, "Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia."

A Paper on the Uses of Gold, "Maunder's Universal Class Book:" also one on Iron.

NOTE.—This is a question between *Show* and *Value*—between ornament and utility.

19. *Is War in any case justifiable?*

See SYDNEY SMITH's Sermons "on Invasion."

The Tracts of the Peace Society.

CHALMERS on the Hatefulness of War.

CHANNING on War.

DR. JOHNSON's Thoughts on the Falkland Islands.

ROBERT HALL on War.

BURKE on the Impeachment of Hastings.

Edinburgh Review, vol. xxxix. pp. 6—18.

———, vol. xxxv. p. 409.

SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH's Works, vol. ii. pp. 320—327.;
iii. 200. 252.

20. *Has the Discovery of America been beneficial to the World?*

See LORD JEFFREY's Essays, vol. ii. pp. 188—209. Article
"Columbus."

SYDNEY SMITH's Works, vol. i. pp. 280. 362.

ROBERTSON's History of America.

WASHINGTON IRVING's Life of Columbus.

MARTIN's British Colonies." "North America."

21. *Can any Circumstances justify a Departure from Truth?*

See PALEY's Moral and Political Philosophy.

BEATTIE's Essay on Truth.

BENTHAM's Principles of Morals.

BACON on Truth.

COMBE's Moral Philosophy.

ROBERT HALL on Expediency.

LORD JEFFREY's Essays, vol. iii. pp. 303—310.

22. *Is Sporting justifiable?*

See SYDNEY SMITH's Works, vol. i. "Game Laws."

STRUTT on the Sports and Pastimes of England.

WALKER's Manly Exercises.

WALTON on Angling.

CHRISTOPHER NORTH's Recreations.

NIMROD on "The Chase, the Turf, and the Road."

SCROPE's Deer Stalking.

Pamphlets by the HON. G. BLAKELEY.

23. *Does not Virtue necessarily produce Happiness, and does not Vice necessarily produce Misery in this Life?*

See BENTHAM's Rationale of Reward.

LOGAN's Sermon — "There is no peace, saith my God, to the wicked."

MELVILL's Sermon on the same Text.

POPE on Virtue.

MACBETH's Soliloquy.

JAMES HARRIS on Virtue Man's Interest.

24. *From which does the Mind gain the more Knowledge, Reading or Observation?*

See GIBBON'S Abstract of his Readings.

LORD BACON on Study.

MASON on Self-Culture.

TODD'S Student's Manual.

CARLYLE on Books. "Hero-Worship."

CHANNING on Self-Culture.

ROBERT HALL on the Advantages of Knowledge.

Edinburgh Review, vol. xxxiv. p. 384.

25. *Have the Gold Mines of Spain, or the Coal Mines of England, been more beneficial to the World?*

See HOOD'S Poem—"Miss Kilmansegg," for a vivid description of the baneful influence of Gold.

A Paper on the Uses of Gold, in "Maunder's Universal Class Book."

M'CULLOCH'S Commercial Dictionary, Art. "Coal."

———— Geographical Dictionary, Art. "British Empire."

26. *Which was the greater General, Hannibal or Alexander?*

See PLUTARCH'S Life of Alexander.

History of Rome.

THIRLWALL'S History of Greece.

27. *Which was the greater Poet, Dryden or Pope?*

See LORD JEFFREY'S Essays, vol. i. pp. 163—166.

SIR W. SCOTT'S Life of Dryden.

See CAMPBELL's *British Poets*.

DR. JOHNSON'S *Parallel between Dryden and Pope*.
"Lives of the Poets."

SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH'S *Works*, vol. ii. pp. 520—522.

LORD BYRON'S *Strictures on Bowles*.

28. *Which has done the greater Service to Truth,
 Philosophy or Poetry?*

See *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xxi. p. 294.

BACON'S *Advancement of Learning*.

Also the *Works* quoted in a previous theme in this
 Volume.

NOTE.—Philosophy is here meant to signify intellectual wisdom; and poetry, that inspiration respecting truth which great poets exhibit, and which seems to be quite independent of acquired knowledge. Philosophy is cultivated reason, poetry is a moral instinct towards the True and Beautiful. To decide the question we must see what we owe on the one hand to the discoveries of our philosophers; to Socrates, Plato, Epicurus, Bacon, Newton, Locke: and on the other, for what amount and sort of truth we are indebted to the intuition and inspiration of our poets, as Homer, Milton, Dante, Shakspeare.

29. *Is an Advocate justified in defending a Man
 whom he knows to be Guilty of the Crime with
 which he is charged?*

See SYDNEY SMITH'S *Works*, vol. i. "On Counsel being
 allowed to Prisoners."

BENTHAM. *Judicial Establishment*.

BROUGHAM on the *Duty of a Barrister*.

PALEY'S *Moral Philosophy*.

See PUNCH's Letters to his Son. "On the Choice of a Profession."

SYDNEY TAYLOR's Works, vol. i. pp. 102, 103.

30. *Is it likely that England will sink into the Decay which befell the Nations of Antiquity?*

See PLAYFAIR's Enquiry into the Fall of Nations.

BACON's Essay on Kingdoms.

VOLNEY's Ruins of Empires.

GIBBON's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

SOUTHEY's Progress and Prospects of Society.

VAUGHAN's Age of Great Cities.

31. *Are Lord Byron's Writings Moral in their Tendency?*

See LORD JEFFREY's Essays, vol. ii. pp. 366—371.

MACAULAY's Critical Essays, vol. i. pp. 311. 352.

SYDNEY TAYLOR's Works, p. 288.

NOTE.—The works of Byron must here be looked at as a whole, and not be judged by isolated passages: they must be tried, too, by eternal, and not by fashionable, morality.

32. *Do the Mechanicians of Modern equal those of Ancient Times?*

See FOSBROOKE and DUNHAM's Roman Arts and Manufactures.

Greek Ditto.

WILKINSON's Ancient Egypt.

PETTIGREW's Ditto.

MAURICE's Ancient Hindostan.

HEEREN's Historical Researches.

33. *Which is the greater Civiliser, the Statesman or the Poet?*

See Debate No. I. p. 1.

CARLYLE's Hero Worship. "The Hero as Poet."

GUICCIARDINI's Maxims; Martin's Translation.

See also the authorities quoted in Debate I.

34. *Which is the greater Writer, Charles Dickens or Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton?*

See The Edinburgh Review, the Quarterly, BLACKWOOD'S Magazine, HORNE'S Spirit of the Age, FRASER'S Magazine: various articles on the subject during the last ten years.

35. *Is the Principle of Utility a safe Moral Guide?*

See BENTHAM's Works; LORD JEFFREY's Essays, vol. iii. pp. 303—310.

MADAME DE STAEL's opinions thereon.

An able article on the subject in the New Monthly Magazine for 1837.

ROBERT HALL on Expediency.

PALEY's Moral Philosophy.

HUME's Essays. "Why Utility pleases."

SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH's Works, vol. i. pp. 15, 16, 193. and 242.

DYMOND's Essays, pp. 4, 28, 123.

36. *Was the Deposition of Louis XVI. justifiable?*

See CARLYLE's, THIERS', DE STAEL's and MACFARLANE's History of the French Revolution.

SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH's Works, vol. iii. pp. 3—352

LORD JEFFREY's Essays, vol. ii. pp. 40—45.

Historic Fancies. By the HON. G. SMYTHE.

37. *Is the Use of Oaths for Civil Purposes expedient?*

See BENTHAM's Tract on the Needlessness of an Oath.

HANSARD. "Debates in Parliament" on this subject.

DYMOND's Essays, pp. 58—67.

38. *Is a Classical Education essential to an English Gentleman?*

See MILTON on Education.

WHEWELL's University Education.

LOCKE's Thoughts on Education.

AMOS's Lectures on the Advantages of a Classical Education.

ROBERT HALL on Classical Learning.

SYDNEY SMITH's Works, vol. i. pp. 183—199.

Edinburgh Review, vol. xv. pp. 41—51.

39. *Are Colonies advantageous to the Mother Country?*

See M'CULLOCH's Edition of Smith's Wealth of Nations.

MERIVALE's Lectures on Colonies.

TORRENS on Colonisation.

SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH's Works, vol. iii. p. 325.

BRANDE's Dictionary of Science, Literature, and Art.

Art. "Colonies," and the works there quoted.

40. *Which does the most to produce Crime,—Poverty, Wealth, or Ignorance?*

See DUMAS's Celebrated Crimes.

BACON on the Uses of Knowledge.

See DR. HARRIS's *Mammon*.

FOSTER's Essay on the Evils of Popular Ignorance.

ROBERT HALL on the Hardships of Poverty.

SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH's Works, vol. iii. pp. 371—376.

Edinburgh Review, vol. xlviii. pp. 176—181.

41. *Is the Unanimity required from Juries conducive to the Attainment of the Ends of Justice?*

See BLACKSTONE's Commentaries on the Laws.

BENTHAM's Judicial Establishment.

BENTHAM on Government and Special Juries.

STEPHENS' Commentaries on the Law.

SYDNEY TAYLOR's Works, pp. 392. 397. 413.

42. *Is it not the Duty of a Government to establish a System of National Education?*

See LOCKE's Thoughts on Education.

WYSE on Education.

CHANNING on Education.

JAMES's Educational Institutions of Germany.

FOX's Lectures on Education.

SIMPSON's Popular Education.

GODWIN's Reflections on Education.

ROUSSEAU's Emile.

MELVILL's University Sermons.

ROBERT HALL on Knowledge.

Life of WILLIAM ALLEN, pp. 84—86.

43. *Are the intellectual Faculties of the Dark Races of Mankind essentially inferior to those of the White?*

See LAWRENCE's Natural History of Man.

PRICHARD's Physical History of Mankind.

See BUFFON's Physical History.

ELLIOTSON's Physiology.

COMBE on the Constitution of Man.

See also BRANDE's Dictionary of Science, Literature, and
Art. Art. "Negroes;" and the authorities there
cited.

44. *Is Transportation a fit and effective Punishment?*

See CAPTAIN MACONCHIE on Transportation.

GIBBON WAKEFIELD on Transportation.

SYDNEY SMITH's Works, vol. i. pp. 321—347.

45. *Should not all Punishment be Reformatory?*

See BENTHAM on Punishment.

BECCARIA on Crimes and Punishments.

Report of the Prison Discipline Society.

HOWARD's State of the Prisons.

ROMILLY's Memoirs.

Edinburgh Review, vol. xxii. pp. 1—26.

ADSHED's Prisons and Prisoners.

46. *Is a Limited Monarchy, like that of England, the
best Form of Government?*

See DELOLME on the Constitution.

HALLAM's Constitutional History.

DE TOCQUEVILLE's Democracy in America.

Edinburgh Review, vol. xx. pp. 275, 276.

HUME's Essays, vol. ii. p. 129—131.

LORD JEFFREY's Essays, vol. iv. pp. 4—18. 114, 115.

47. *Is not Private Virtue essentially requisite to
Greatness of Public Character?*

See DYMOND's Essays, pp. 70—79.

48. *Is Eloquence a Gift of Nature, or may it be acquired?*

See the works quoted in Debate X. p. 230.

49. *Is Genius an innate Capacity?*

See GRISENTHWAITE'S Essay on Genius.

AKENSIDE'S Pleasures of Imagination.

MILL'S Analysis of the Human Mind.

DR. BROWN'S Philosophy of the Mind.

LOCKE on the Understanding.

DUGALD STEWART'S Elements of the Human Mind.

REID'S Inquiry into the Mind.

SIR W. TEMPLE'S Essay on Poetical Genius.

REV. ROBERT HALL on Poetic Genius.

Edinburgh Review, vol. xxxiv. pp. 82—88.

50. *Is a rude or a refined Age the more favourable to the Production of Works of Imagination?*

See SYDNEY TAYLOR'S Works, p. 169.

SOUTHEY'S Progress of Society.

JEFFREY'S Essays.

CAMPBELL'S British Poets.

HAZLITT'S Criticism on British Poetry.

Edinburgh Review, vol. xxxvii. pp. 410—412.

_____, vol. xlii. pp. 306, 307.

_____, vol. xlviii. pp. 50, 51.

_____, vol. xxxiv. p. 449.

51. *Is the Shaksperian the Augustan Age of English Literature?*

See LORD JEFFREY'S Essays, vol. i. pp. 81—161.; ii. pp. 315—342.; iii. p. 445.

See HAZLITT's Criticisms.

SIR W. SCOTT on Poetry.

CAMPBELL's British Poets.

AIKIN's British Poets.

HUME's History of England.

SCHLEGEL's Lectures on Literature.

52. Is there any Standard of Taste ?

See ALISON on Taste.

BURKE on the Sublime and Beautiful.

LORD KAMES's Elements of Criticism.

LORD JEFFREY's Essays, vol. i. p. 75. ; ii. p. 228, &c.

Edinburgh Review, xlii. pp. 409—414.

HUME's Essays.

53. Ought Pope to rank in the First Class of Poets ?

See CAMPBELL's British Poets.

AIKIN's Do.

BYRON's Defence of Pope.

BOWLES on Pope.

LORD JEFFREY's Essays, vol. ii.

HAZLITT on the British Poets.

ROSCOE's Edition of Pope.

*54. Has the Introduction of Machinery been generally
beneficial to Mankind ?*

See BABBAGE on Machinery.

CHALMERS' Political Economy.

M'CULLOCH's Political Economy, pp. 100—206.

55. Which produce the greater Happiness, the Pleasures of Hope or of Memory?

See ROGERS's Pleasures of Memory.

CAMPBELL's Pleasures of Hope.

ABERCROMBIE on the Moral Feelings.

ADAM SMITH's Theory of the Moral Sentiments.

HUME's Essay on the Passions.

56. Is the Existence of Parties in a State favourable to the Public Welfare.

See The History of Party. By G. W. COOKE.

Essays written in the Intervals of Business. "On Party Spirit."

HUME's Essay on Parties, &c.

LORD JEFFREY's Essays, vol. iv. pp. 34—36.

Edinburgh Review, vol. xx. p. 343.

DYMOND's Essays, pp. 117—119.

57. Is there any Ground for believing in the ultimate Perfection and universal Happiness of the Human Race?

See SOUTHEY's Progress and Prospects of Society.

CHANNING's Works generally.

FICHTE's Destination of Man. Translated by Mrs. SINNETT.

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THE END.

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